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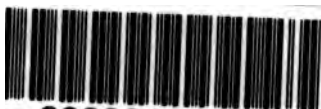
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A SHORT COURSE

OF

HISTORY.

Second Series:

VOL. I.

IV. GREEKS AND MAHOMETANS.

V. HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS Second Series of my "Short Course" is intended to be an introduction to those great works on medieval history, which their illustrious authors have written, not for beginners but for the well informed. It is therefore somewhat more diffuse than its predecessor. The affairs which have been transacted on the wider stage of the continent, though less interesting in a constitutional point of view than the events recorded in our insular annals, are far more complicated in their relations; the terms, and titles, and offices, and laws, and customs with which they are connected, being foreign, require more often to be explained; and in innumerable cases, a mere outline, a meagre summary of facts and dates would really teach nothing.

In the work of which this Series forms a part, will be found few original remarks, and no original views. It is meant to supersede shallow and inaccurate educational books, unworthy of the country which has produced Gibbon and Hallam; and it aims at giving a clear, continuous, and systematic account, in chronological order, of the great political and national changes, of the wars, revolutions,

conquests, and treaties which have taken place since the fall of the Western Empire. THE ENGLISH HISTORY was dealt with in the First Series, to which was prefixed, by way of introduction, a short description of the achievements of the Greeks and Romans ; in the present Series, the chief and leading subject will be THE MIDDLE AGES, preceded, for similar reasons, by a concise narrative of the Decline and Fall of the Eastern Empire, of the vicissitudes of the Asiatic nations, and also of the Frank Crusades. If some knowledge of Ancient History be necessary for the full understanding of the early part of our own, not less important is it for the student of General History to be able to appreciate the influence of the Byzantine Greeks on the religion and civilization of Europe, and the causes and results of those inroads of the Eastern hordes which more than once have perilled the very existence of Christendom. To have imparted such information piecemeal, would have interrupted a narrative already not a little broken ; instead of rendering it plainer to the comprehension, it would have made it more confused. It was therefore better to give it as a whole, though—as it is but an introduction—in a somewhat more condensed form than the rest of the work.

Another feature in this compilation is the entire separation of the English from the continental history. Unless this is done, neither the English writer nor the English reader can keep clear from the egotistical insular tendency to look upon England as the central point of the whole system of events in this wide world. When brought into juxtaposition with the annals of the foreigner, the story of our home and country cannot but attract a disproportionate

share of our interest; otherwise indeed we should be thoroughly unpatriotic.

Moreover, in this particular Series, the histories of the several nations will neither be mixed together into a confused mass, nor cut up into minute fragments; but they will be arranged in large divisions, as will be explained farther on. The isolation not only of provinces but even of nations in the Middle Ages, and the number of independent states which then existed, are stubborn facts which do not allow of any blending, as in the case of modern politics, into one comprehensive scheme; and this want of unity is immensely increased, if the narrative be broken up into many arbitrary periods such as centuries and portions of centuries.

Not a little care has been bestowed on the Chronology. Many dates have been compared and verified; and whenever it could be done, the month as well as the year in which the transaction took place has been noted. The order of time is also kept with a methodical exactness indispensable in a work of this kind. This has been the cause of much difficulty to the author. None but those who have tried it can be aware of the trouble which it costs to avoid repetitions, to tell a connected story,—in fact, to write any thing readable,—when thus trammelled.

It may be added that titles and designations are always given with due precision; and that there are full accounts, in the notes, of all the great royal and feudal houses. Much confusion is often occasioned, even in the works of such men as Sismondi, by vaguely speaking of counts of Flanders or dukes of Burgundy, without stating which

particular duke or count; by naming persons from territories which they had not yet inherited, or which they held for a time in right of a wife, or to which they were only pretenders; and by styling the members of younger branches by a title likewise borne by the head of the family, according to a well-known German custom.

Into the notes,—as in the First Series,—much has been thrown which would have encumbered the narrative, or which was only of secondary importance.

In the account given of the Papacy, no advantage could be taken of Dr. Milman's valuable History of Latin Christianity. All the sheets of the First Volume were printed off before that important work came out.

PLAN OF THE MEDIEVAL PORTION OF THE HISTORY.

1. THE early History of the Barbarian races is first given separately, followed by a short account of the Feudal system.

2. The next grand division is the History of the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings.

3. The next period (which is closed in the second volume) begins with the deposition of Charles the Fat (A.D. 887), and ends about the latter part of the thirteenth century, when popular institutions had developed, and the Crusades to the East and the struggle of the Popes and the Emperors had ceased.

It comprises :—

The History of Upper Italy, till the time of the extinction of the Ghibelin Dynasty (A.D. 1250); of Venice, until the closing of the Great Council (A.D. 1319); of the Papacy, until the accession of Boniface VIII., when it began to decline (A.D. 1296); of Southern Italy and of Sicily until the death of Conradin (A.D. 1268); of Germany, until the termination of the interregnum after the breaking up of

the old Empire (A.D. 1273); and of the early Capetian kings of France, until the final establishment of the Salic law of succession (A.D. 1328).

4. Then comes a short account of the Peninsular and Northern kingdoms during the Middle Ages.

5. And the last volume will contain the rest of the History of the Papacy, of the Italian States, of the German emperors and French kings, until the year 1495, which is taken to be the commencement of Modern History.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

BYZANTINE-GREEK AND MAHOMETAN DATES.

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- 395. Final Division of the Roman Empire. Arcadius.
- 431. Council of Ephesus; Nestorius condemned.
- 451. Council of Chalcedon; Eutyches condemned.
- 527—565. Reign of Justinian I.
- 534. Belisarius conquers the African Vandals.—Last revision of Justinian's Code.
- 539. Belisarius takes Ravenna.
- 542. Belisarius repels Chosroes.—The Pestilence begins.
- 552. Narses defeats Totila.
- 568. The Lombards invade Italy.
- 622. The Hegira.
- 628. Heraclius ends the Persian War.
- 632. Death of Mahomet.—Abubeker Caliph.
- 634. Omar Caliph.
- 638. The Saracens take Jerusalem; Syria conquered.
- 640. The Saracens conquer Egypt.
- 642. Battle of Nohavend; Persia conquered.
- 661. Murder of Ali; Moawiyah founds the hereditary dynasty of the Omniades.
- 680. Death of Hossein.—Third Council of Constantinople; the Monothelites condemned.
- 698. The Saracens take Carthage.
- 711. Battle of Xeres; the Saracens conquer Spain.
- 726. Edict of Leo III. against images.
- 732. Defeat of the Saracens at Tours.
- 750. Abul Abbas Caliph; Dynasty of the Abbasides.

A.D.

- 752. Astulphus conquers the Exarchate of Ravenna.
- 756. Abdal Rahman founds the Caliphate of the West.
- 786. Harun al Rashid Caliph.
- 787. Second Council of Nice; Irene upholds image worship.
- 813. Almamon Caliph.—Age of Arabian learning.
- 842. Theodora finally establishes image worship.
- 867. Basil I.—Photius deposed.
- 869. Eighth Council of Constantinople.
- 879. Ninth Council of Constantinople.—The Greek schism begins.
- 935. The Caliph Radhi creates an Emir el Omra.
- 966. Nicephorus Phocas recovers Cilicia, Cyprus, and Northern Syria.
- 969. Moez the first Fatimite Caliph of Egypt.
- 997. Mahmūd reigns in Gazna.
- 1019. Basil II. subdues the Bulgarians.
- 1038. The Caliphate of the West broken up into small states.
- 1039. Battle of Zendecan; Togrul Beg establishes the power of the Seljukian Turks.
- 1054. Final Schism of the East and West.
- 1057. Isaac I. Comnenus, emperor of the East.
- 1071. The Normans take Bari; the Greeks lose Southern Italy.—
Diogenes taken prisoner by Alp Arslan.
- 1091. Rule of the Moorish Almoravides in Spain.
- 1092. Death of Malek Shah; decline of the Seljukians.
- 1095. Council of Clermont; First Crusade.
- 1099. The Crusaders take Jerusalem.
- 1147. The Second Crusade.
- 1152. Mactafi II. recovers the independence of the Caliphate.
- 1171. Adhed, the last Fatimite Caliph, deposed by Saladin.
- 1185. Isaac II. Angelus, emperor of the East.
- 1187. Saladin takes Jerusalem.
- 1189. The Third Crusade.
- 1193. Death of Saladin.
- 1195. The Khorasmians destroy the Seljukian empire.
- 1196. The German (or fourth) Crusade.
- 1200. Saphadin seizes Egypt.
- 1202. The Fourth (or fifth) Crusade.
- 1204. Constantinople taken by the Latins. Baldwin I.
- 1206. Mogul Empire of Jenghis Khan.
- 1212. Defeat of the Moors at Tolosa; decline of the Almohades in Spain.

A. D.

- 1218. The Fifth (sixth) Crusade.
- 1227. Death of Jenghis Khan.—Frederic II. renews the Fifth (sixth) Crusade.
- 1237. Russia tributary to the Moguls of Kapjak.
- 1239. The (seventh) Crusade.
- 1248. The Sixth (eighth) Crusade.
- 1250. Murder of Turan Shah; the Mamelukes rule Egypt.
- 1258. Mostasem, the last temporal caliph, slain by the Moguls.
- 1261. Michael Palæologus, the Greek Emperor, recovers Constantinople.
- 1270. The Last (Seventh or ninth) Crusade.
- 1279. Kublai Khan completes the conquest of China.
- 1291. Fall of Acre; the Latins driven from Palestine.
- 1294. Kublai Khan dies; decline of the Mogul empire.
- 1299. The Ottoman Turks under Athman attack the Greeks in Asia.
- 1361. The Turks take Adrianople.
- 1368. The Moguls lose China;—the Ming dynasty.
- 1370. The Mogul empire of Tamerlane.
- 1396. Battle of Nicopoli.
- 1402. Battle of Angora.
- 1405. Death of Tamerlane.
- 1444. Battle of Varna.
- 1453. Mahomet II. takes Constantinople; Fall of the Greek empire.
- 1456. John Hunniades raises the siege of Belgrade.
- 1477. Ivan III. of Russia defeats the Khan of the Golden Horde.
- 1492. Grenada taken from the Moors.
- 1501. Ismail Sofi restores the Persian monarchy.
- 1517. Selim conquers Egypt from the Mamelukes.
- 1526. Solyman defeats the Hungarians at Mohacz.—Baber founds the Mogul empire in India.
- 1571. Battle of Lepanto.
- 1603. Death of Mahomet III. Decline of the Ottoman power.
- 1644. The Man-chu Tartars conquer China.
- 1683. John Sobieski raises the siege of Vienna.
- 1690. The Venetians conquer the Morea.
- 1697. Battle of Zentha.
- 1699. Peace of Carlowitz.
- 1715. The Morea reconquered.
- 1716. Battle of Peterwaradin.
- 1717. Defeat of the Turks at Belgrade.
- 1718. Peace of Passarowitz.

A. D.

- 1739. Peace of Belgrade.
- 1747. Death of Nadir Shah ; Achmet founds the Durani empire.
- 1757. Battle of Plassy ; the English empire in India founded.
- 1774. Peace of Kaynargi.
- 1783. The Crimea annexed to Russia.
- 1798. Suwarow takes Ismail.
- 1821. The Greeks revolt.
- 1826. Mahmud II. destroys the Janizaries.
- 1827. Battle of Navarino.
- 1829. Peace of Adrianople ;—Greece independent.
- 1832. Battle of Koniah.
- 1833. Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.
- 1839. Battle of Nejib.—Death of Mahmud II.
- 1841. Peace with Mehemet Ali, vice-roy of Egypt.

MEDIEVAL CONTINENTAL DATES.

- 476. Fall of the Western Empire ; Odoacer master of Italy.
- 486. Clovis gains the Battle of Soissons.
- 493. Theodoric and the Ostrogoths conquer Italy.
- 496. Battle of Tolbiac ; baptism of Clovis.
- 507. Clovis defeats Alaric II. at Vouglé near Poitiers, and conquers Aquitaine from the Visigoths.
- 534. The Franks conquer the Burgundians.
- 539. Belisarius subdues the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy.
- 552. Narses defeats Totila.
- 568. Alboin and the Lombards invade the North of Italy.
- 565. The Visigoths overpower the Sueves in Galicia.
- 638. Death of Dagobert I.—Degeneracy of the Merovingian kings.
- 687. Pepin d'Heristal gains the Battle of Testry.
- 697. Anafesto, the first doge of Venice.
- 711. Battle of Xeres ; the Saracens conquer Spain.
- 732. Charles Martel defeats the Saracens at Tours.
- 752. Pepin the Short deposes Childeric III.
- 761. Froila I. builds Oviedo.
- 768. Charlemagne succeeds Pepin.
- 774. Charlemagne overthrows the Lombards.
- 778. The Spanish March conquered by Charlemagne.
- 785. Submission of Wittkind and the Saxons.

A.D.

794. Council of Frankfort.
 796. The Avars subdued.
 800. *Charlemagne Emperor of the West.*
 804. End of the Saxon Wars.
 814. *Lewis I., the Debonair.*
 833. Lewis dethroned by his sons (restored 834).
 840. *Lothaire I.*—The Piasts begin to rule in Poland.
 841. Battle of Fontenay.
 843. Treaty of Verdun; separation of the French and Germans.
 855. *Lewis II.*
 860. Garcia Ximenes becomes king of Navarre.
 862. Ruric establishes his rule at Novgorod.
 863. Gorm the Old unites Denmark into a kingdom.
 864. The Spanish March erected into the county of Barcelona.
 875. *Charles II., the Bald.*—Kingdom of Upsala.—Harold Harfagr unites Norway into a kingdom.
 877. *Lewis III., the Stammerer* (crowned 878).
 879. Death of Lewis. Boso becomes king of Arles.
 881. *Charles III., the Fat.*
 884. Charles the Fat re-unites the Empire.
 887. Charles the Fat deposed.—Arnulf king of Germany.
 888. Eudes king of France; Rodolf I. king of Transjurane Burgundy; Berenger I., king of Italy.
 894. The Hungarians conquer the Moravians.
 896. *Arnulf* crowned Emperor.
 898. Charles the Simple succeeds Eudes in France.
 899. Arnulf succeeded in Germany by Lewis IV.
 911. Conrad I., of Franconia, king of Germany.
 912. Rollo and the Normans settle in Neustria.
 914. The kingdom of Oviedo transferred to Leon.
 915. *Berenger I.* crowned Emperor.
 919. Henry I., the Fowler, king of Germany.
 924. Berenger murdered.
 933. Cis and Transjurane Burgundy united.—Henry the Fowler defeats the Hungarians at Merseburg.
 936. Otho I., the Great, king of Germany.
 952. Berenger II. of Italy becomes Otho's vassal.
 955. Otho defeats the Hungarians near Augsburg.
 962. *Otho the Great*, crowned Emperor, *recives the Imperial dignity.*
 963. Pope John XII. deposed.
 973. *Otho II.*

A. D.

983. *Otho III.*

987. Hugh Capet king of France.

988. Wladimir the Great, duke of Russia, baptized.

996. Robert, king of France.

1000. St. Stephen crowned king of Hungary.

1002. *Henry II.* Arduin crowned in Lombardy.

1015. Death of Arduin.

1016. Canute the Dane conquers England.

1024. *Conrad II., the Salic.*

1031. Henry I., king of France.

1032. Conrad the Salic inherits the kingdom of Burgundy.

1035. Death of Sancho the Great. His sons, kings of Navarre, Castille, and Arragon.

1039. *Henry III.*

37 1042. The Danes lose England.—The Normans seize Apulia.

1046. Gregory VI. deposed; Henry III. nominates the Pope.

1048. Gerard of Alsatia becomes duke of Lorraine.

1053. Leo IX. taken prisoner by the Normans.

1056. *Henry IV.*

1059. The election of the Pope given to the cardinals; transubstantiation affirmed. — Robert Guiscard created duke of Apulia and Calabria by the Pope.

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1060. Philip I., king of France.

1066. The Normans conquer England.

1071. Welf of Este becomes duke of Bavaria.

1074. Decree of Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) against lay investitures. Celibacy of the clergy enforced.

1076. Council of Worms. Gregory excommunicates Henry IV.

1080. Rodolf of Swabia slain at Wolsheim.

1084. Henry IV. takes Rome.

1085. The Castillians take Toledo.—Era of the Cid.

1095. Council of Clermont. — Henry of Burgundy, Count of Portugal.

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1105. Henry IV. deposed by his son Henry.

1106. *Henry V.*

1108. Lewis VI., the Fat, king of France.

1111. Forced concessions of Paschal II.

1122. Council and Concordate of Worms.

1123. First Council of Lateran (the first General Council of the West).

1125. *Lothaire II.*

1130. Roger II. made king of Sicily by Anacletus.

A. D.

- 1135. Alfonso VIII. crowned emperor of Spain.
- 1137. Lewis VII., king of France.
- 1138. *Conrad III.*—Henry the Proud put under the ban of the Empire.
- 1139. Battle of Ourique; Alfonso-Henry becomes king of Portugal.—2nd Council of Lateran; Arnold of Brescia.
- 1147. Crusade of Lewis VII. and Conrad III. — Alfonso-Henry of Portugal takes Lisbon.
- 1152. *Frederic I. Barbarossa.* — Henry of Anjou marries Eleonour of Guienne.
- 1158. Frederic takes Milan. Diet of Roncaglia.
- 1159. Milan revolts. War with Pope Alexander III.
- 1163. Milan burned.
- 1167. The Lombard League; Milan rebuilt. Frederic retreats from Rome.—Alfonso II. of Arragon seizes Provence.
- 1172. Alfonso of Arragon inherits Roussillon.
- 1176. Battle of Legnano.
- 1177. Frederic absolved at Venice. Truce with the Lombards.
- 1179. Third Council of Lateran.
- 1180. Henry the Lion under the ban of the Empire; Otho of Wittelsbach gets Bavaria. — Philip II. Augustus, king of France.
- 1183. Peace of Constance.
- 1189. Third Crusade.—Tancred usurps Sicily.
- 1190. Royal Courts established in France. — Death of Frederic Barbarossa; *Henry VI.*
- 1194. Henry becomes king of Sicily.
- 1196. Death of Alfonso II.; Provence separated from Arragon.
- 1197. Death of Henry VI.; his son Frederic inherits Sicily.
- 1198. Innocent III.; Tuscan League. — *Philip of Swabia and Otho IV.*; Bohemia finally becomes a kingdom.
- 1200. Interdict in France. University of Paris incorporated. — Mariners' compass in use.
- 1204. The Latins seize Constantinople. — Normandy, Maine, and Anjou conquered by Philip Augustus.
- 1208. Crusade against the Albigenses. — Interdict in England. — Philip of Swabia murdered. — Azo of Este becomes lord of Ferrara.
- 1212. Battle of Tolosa.
- 1213. Battle of Muret; Peter II. of Arragon slain.
- 1214. Battle of Bouvines.

1. *Frederic II.*—Fourth Council of Lateran.
2. Simon de Montfort slain before Thoulouse.
3. Lewis VIII., king of France.
4. The Lombard League revived. — Lewis VIII. overruns Languedoc, and dies; Lewis IX., king of France.
5. The House of Wittelsbach obtains the Palatinate.—Crusade and excommunication of Frederic II.
6. Raymond of Thoulouse cedes most of Languedoc to France.—James I. of Arragon conquers Majorca.
7. Castille and Leon united by St. Ferdinand. — The Teutonic knights begin the conquest of Prussia.
8. Fra Giovanni da Vicenza.
9. Theobald of Champagne becomes king of Navarre.
10. Frederic II. deposes his son Henry; Brunswic erected into a duchy.
11. The Italian war renewed.—St. Ferdinand takes Cordova.
12. George of Russia slain; the Moguls subdue Russia.
13. Simon Boccanegra, doge of Genoa.
14. Battle of Liegnitz; Poland, Hungary, and Moravia overrun by the Moguls.—Battle off Meloria.—Rise of the Hanseatic League.
15. Council of Lyons; Frederic II. sentenced to be deposed.
16. Death of Henry Raspe; election of William, count of Holland.
17. First Crusade of St. Lewis.
18. The Great Interregnum; *Conrad IV.* and *William of Holland.*
19. Death of Conrad IV.; Conradin inherits Sicily.
20. League of the Rhine.
21. Death of William of Holland.
22. *Richard, earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans.*
23. Manfred usurps Sicily.—Death of Brancalion.
24. Fall of Eccelin da Romano.
25. The Latin empire of Constantinople overthrown by the Greeks.
26. Arragonese kingdom of Majorca created.
27. Battle of Benevento; Charles of Anjou conquers Sicily.
28. Battle of Tagliacozzo; Conradin beheaded.
29. St. Lewis dies before Tunis; Philip III., the Hardy, king of France.
30. Death of Richard, king of the Romans.
31. *Rodolf I., of Habsburg.*

A.D.

- 1274. Second Council of Lyons.
- 1278. Ottocar, king of Bohemia, slain.
- 1282. Sicilian Vespers.—Rodolf I. makes his son duke of Austria.
- 1284. Sancho IV. succeeds Alfonso X. of Castille.
- 1285. Philip IV., the Fair, king of France.—Peter III. of Arragon bequeaths Sicily to his younger son.
- 1290. Fall of Pisa.
- 1291. Fall of Acre.
- 1292. *Adolphus of Nassau.*
- 1294. Death of Lewis the Severe; division of the House of Wittelsbach into the Palatine and Bavarian branches.—Pope Boniface VIII.
- 1295. Premislaus II. crowned king of Poland.
- 1298. Adolphus murdered; *Albert I.*
- 1300. Boniface institutes the Roman Jubilee.
- 1301. Bull Auscultati Fili.
- 1302. The States General convened by Philip the Fair.—Battle of Courtray.
- 1303. Death of Boniface VIII.
- 1305. Lewis the Hutin inherits Navarre.
- 1307. Revolt of the Swiss Cantons.
- 1308. Albert murdered; *Henry VII. of Luxemburg.*
- 1309. Clement V. removes the Papal Court to Avignon.
- 1310. John of Luxemburg chosen king of Bohemia.—Tiepolo's revolt at Venice; Council of Ten.—The Hospitallers take Rhodes.
- 1311. Council of Vienne.
- 1312. The order of the Temple abolished by the Pope.
- 1314. *Lewis IV. of Bararia.* Lewis X., king of France.
- 1315. Battle of Morgarten.—Emancipation of the Serfs by Lewis the Hutin.—Matthew Visconti, lord of Milan, extends his rule in Lombardy.
- 1316. Death of Lewis X.; birth and death of John of France.
- 1317. Philip V., the Long, king of France; Salic Law.
- 1319. The closing of the Great Council at Venice.
- 1322. Charles IV., the Fair, king of France.—Battle of Mühldorf; Frederic of Austria taken prisoner.
- 1326. The Arragonese reduce Sardinia.
- 1328. Philip VI. of Valois, king of France.—Joan of France recovers Navarre.
- 1336. The marquises of Este seize Modena.

A.D.

- 1339. Edward III. attacks France; sea-fight at Sluys.
- 1340. Alfonso XI. defeats the Moors at Rio Salado.
- 1343. Majorca re-united to the kingdom of Arragon.
- 1345. Murder of Andrew, the husband of Joanna I. of Naples.
- 1346. Battle of Cressy.
- 1347. The English take Calais. — *Charles IV. of Bohemia.*—The tribune Rienzi.
- 1349. Dauphiné ceded to France.—The Black Death.
- 1350. John II. of France.
- 1355. Marin Falieri, doge of Venice, beheaded.
- 1356. Golden Bull of Charles IV.—Battle of Poitiers.
- 1360. Peace of Bretigny.
- 1363. Philip the Bold created duke of Burgundy.
- 1364. Charles V., the Wise, king of France.
- 1366. Battle of Navarrette.
- 1369. Peter the Cruel slain by Henry of Trastamara.
- 1370. Casimir the Great, the last Piast king of Poland, succeeded by Lewis the Great of Hungary.
- 1378. Great Schism of the West; Urban VI. and Clement VII. popes.—*Wenceslaus.*
- 1379, 1380. War of Chioggia; decline of Genoa.
- 1380. Union of Denmark and Norway.—Joanna I. of Naples adopts Lewis of Anjou.—Charles VI., the Mad, king of France.
- 1382. Battle of Rosebecq.—Murder of Joanna I.—Death of Lewis the Great, king of Hungary and Poland.
- 1384. The county of Burgundy, Flanders, and the Netherlands acquired by the duke of Burgundy.
- 1385. Battle of Aljubarotta; John the Great king of Portugal.
- 1386. Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, marries Hedwiga of Poland, and reigns as Uladislaus V.—Charles of Naples murdered in Hungary.
- 1392. Death of Mary, queen of Hungary, wife of Sigismund of Luxemburg.
- 1395. Milan erected into a duchy.
- 1396. Battle of Nicopoli; the Turks conquer Bulgaria.
- 1397. Union of Calmar.
- 1400. Wenceslaus deposed; *Robert* (count Palatine).
- 1406. Pisa subdued by Florence.
- 1407. Murder of Lewis, duke of Orleans.
- 1409. Council of Pisa.—Martin king of Arragon inherits Sicily.

A.D.

- 1410. Death of Martin.—*Sigismund*.
- 1414. Council of Constance.
- 1415. John Huss burnt.—Battle of Agincourt.
- 1416. Savoy erected into a duchy.
- 1417. Martin V. chosen pope at Constance; end of the schism.—*Sigismund* gives up Brandenburg to Frederic of Hohenzollern.
- 1419. Zisca heads the Hussites; *Sigismund* succeeds *Wenceslaus* in Bohemia.—Murder of John, duke of Burgundy.
- 1420. Peace of Troyes.—The Portuguese discover Madeira.
- 1422. Charles VII., king of France.
- 1423. Frederic of Wettin, margrave of Misnia, becomes duke of Saxony.
- 1424. Battle of Verneuil.—Death of *Zisca*.
- 1429. Siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc.
- 1431. Council of Basil.
- 1434. Cosmo de Medicis overpowers the Albizi at Florence.
- 1435. Death of Joanna II.; Alfonso V. of Arragon succeeds to Naples.—Treaty of Arras.—Scanderbeg.
- 1438. *Albert II., of Austria*.—Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.
- 1439. Amadeus of Savoy anti-pope to Eugenius IV.; the Council of Florence, and temporary union of the Greeks.—The Praguerie rising in France.
- 1440. *Frederic III.*—Ladislav Posthumus, king of Bohemia; Uladislav VI., of Poland, king of Hungary.
- 1442. Confederacy of Nevers in France.
- 1444. The Taille; establishment of a standing army in France.—Uladislav VI., slain at Varna.
- 1445. John Hunniades regent of Hungary for Ladislav Posthumus.
- 1446. Casimir IV., king of Poland.
- 1448. Concordates of Aschaffenburg.—Christian I., of Oldenburg, king of Denmark and Norway.
- 1450. Francis Sforza becomes duke of Milan.—Era of the Invention of the Art of Printing.
- 1452. Modena erected into a duchy.
- 1453. Fall of the Eastern Empire.—The English finally driven out of Guienne.
- 1456. John Hunniades raises the siege of Belgrade.
- 1457. Christian I. of Denmark becomes king of Sweden.—Death of Ladislav Posthumus; Frederic III. inherits Austria.

- D.
- 58. Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary; George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia.—Alfonso V., succeeded in Arragon and Sicily by John II., and in Naples by Ferdinand I.
 - 59. Christian of Denmark inherits Holstein and Sleswic.
 - 60. Lewis XI., king of France.
 - 61. The Milanese conquer Genoa.
 - 62. Battle of Montlhery; treaty of Conflans.
 - 63. Treaty of Thorn.
 - 64. Lewis XI. visits Charles the Bold at Peronne.
 - 65. Death of Podiebrad; Uladislaua succeeds to Bohemia.
 - 66. Isabella becomes queen of Castille.
 - 67. Battles of Granson and Morat (Murten).—Battle of Toro.
 - 68. Charles the Bold slain at Nancy; Lewis XI. seizes Burgundy. Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian of Austria.—John III., of Russia, shakes off the Tartar yoke.
 - 69. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon;—Arragon and Castille united under Ferdinand and Isabella.
 - 70. Charles, count of Provence and Maine, makes Lewis XI. his heir.
 - 71. Charles VIII., of France; Anne of Beaujeu regent.
 - 72. Bartholomew Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope.
 - 73. Cyprus bequeathed to the Venetians
 - 74. Battle of St. Aubin.
 - 75. Uladislaua of Bohemia becomes king of Hungary.
 - 76. Charles VIII. marries Anne of Britany.
 - 77. Grenada taken.—Columbus discovers the West Indies.
 - 78. *Maximilian I.*
 - 79. Charles VIII. enters Naples.—The Right of Defiance abolished in Germany, and the Imperial Chamber established.

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 16, line 22; *for* Robert II., *read* Baldwin II.
- P. 17, line 2; *for* son-in-law, *read* brother-in-law.
- P. 17, note 9, line 2; *for* daughter, *read* sister.
- P. 19, line 3; ROBERT II., *dele* II.
- P. 60, note 2, line 4; *for* perished in a war with Damascus, A.D. *read* died (April 1122).
- P. 71, note 2, line 3; *for* Almeric II., *read* Conrad.
- P. 122, line 12; *for* 1523, *read* 1623.
- P. 157, line 10; *for* Childeric, *read* Childebert.
- P. 161, lines 3, 18; *for* Cassiodorius, *read* Cassiodorus.
- P. 163, line 30; *for* A.D. 560, *read* A.D. 566.
- P. 176, note 8, line 4; *for* A.D. 693, *read* A.D. 593.
- P. 179, note 3, line 4; *for* Cath, *read* Catti.
- P. 188, note 3, line 2; *for* Pribislas, *read* Pribislaus; *also*, l. A.D. 1159, *read* about 1159.
- P. 197, note 7, the derivation of Ketzor from Catharist (see p. 217, note 7) is probably the true one.
- P. 264, line 15; *for* day she, *read* day he.
- P. 267, note 1, bottom line; *for* A.D. 933, *read* 937.
- P. 288, line 12; *for* the successor *read* one of the successors.
- F. 331, note 6, line 1; *for* Robert's brother Richard, *read* Ric count of Aversa.
- P. 331, note 9, line 3; *dele* (Corvey).
- P. 333, line 20; *for* Gregory III., *read* Gregory VII.
- P. 340, line 27; *for* 1115, *read* 1111.
- P. 341, line 13; *for* 1116, *read* 1112.
- P. 341, note 7, line 1; *for* 1116, *read* 1115.
- P. 345, line 2; *for* 1136, *read* 1137.
- P. 350, line 14; *for* June 1177, *read* July 1177.
- P. 352, line 34; *for* 1298, *read* 1198.
- P. 369, line 22; *for* 1227, *read* 1127.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

To render these Tables more compact and easy of reference, and to avoid the awkwardness and inconvenience of large sheets, they are unincumbered with Chronological dates, of which the proper place is in the History itself.

The utmost care has been taken to collate and verify the various Genealogies. A uniform system of designation has been adhered to ; and in cases of re-marriages, many of which give rise to important questions of inheritance, the parentage of the children on both sides is always most carefully set forth, so that it may be seen at a glance whom they represent.

I—IV. Merovingian Kings of France.

V. Carolingian Family, from St. Arnulf to Charlemagne.

VI. Imperial line of Charlemagne.

VII. Carolingian Kings of France, from Charles the Bald.

VIII. Kings of Italy, Provence, and Burgundy, descended through females from Charlemagne.

IX. Imperial House of Saxony.

X. Imperial Houses of Franconia.

XI. The Ghibelin, or Swabian Imperial House.

XII. The Guelfs.

XIII. Families of William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall, and Adolphus of Nassau.

XIV. Imperial House of Austria.—Elder Lines.

XV. Houses of Luxemburg and Limburg.

XVI. Medieval Emperors of the House of Wittelsbach.

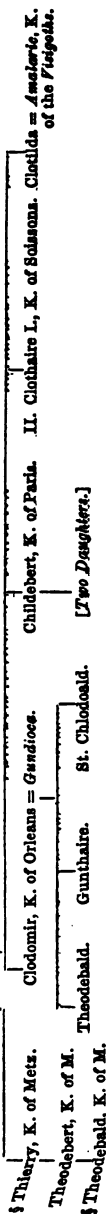
- XVII. Imperial House of Austria.—Leopoldine Line.
- XXVIII. Early Capetian Counts of Paris.
- XXIX. Kings of France, from Hugh Capet to Philip-Augustus.
- XX. Kings of France, from Philip-Augustus to Charles IV.
- XXI. Kings of France of the Elder Line of Valois.
- XXII. Houses of Orleans-Valois, to Lewis XII. and Francis I.
- XXIII. Second Capetian House of Burgundy.
- XXIV. Section I. Houses of Bourbon and Bourbon-Montpensier.
- XXIV. Section II. Houses of Bourbon-La-Marche and Bourbon-Vendôme.
- XXV. Section I. Angevin Kings of Sicily and Naples.
- XXV. Section II. Angevin Kings of Hungary and Poland.
- XXVI. Titular Angevin Kings of Naples.
- XXVII. Jagellon Kings of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia.
- XXVIII. Counts and Dukes of Apulia.
- XXIX. Norman Counts and Kings of Sicily.
- XXX. Swabian Kings of Sicily.
- XXXI. Arragonese Kings of the Island of Sicily.
- XXXII—XXXVII. Kings of Navarre.
- XXXVIII. Titular Sovereigns of Navarre, of the House of Albret.
- XXXIX—XLI. Kings of Castille and Leon.
- XLII—XLV. Kings of Arragon.
- XLVI. Children of Ferdinand and Isabella.
- XLVII—XLIX. Kings of Portugal.

Names of unimportant wives and daughters are sometimes omitted.

I. MEROVINGIAN Kings of FRANCE.

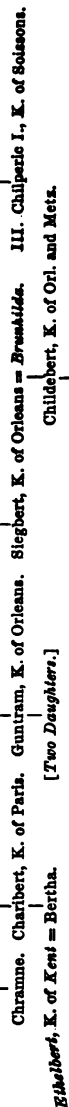
Children of CLOVIS.

CLOVIS = *Clotilda* of Burgundy.



II. (Merovingians.)—Children of CLOTHAIRE I.

Chlothsene = and *Gundioce*; St. *Bede*; and *Ingunda* = *Clothaire* I.* = *Arigunde*; and *Walthada*.



Bittakilda = Theodebert II., K. of Metz = *Theoderikida*.

Siegbert.†

Meroveus.

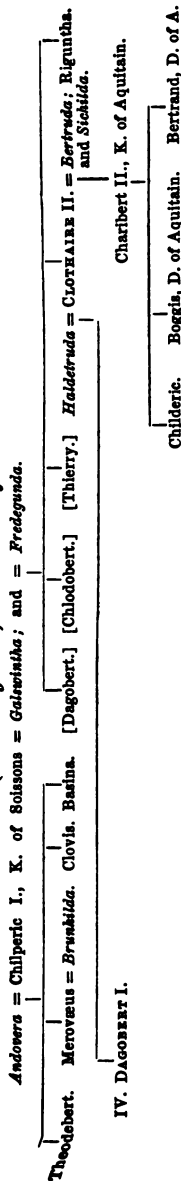
Thierry II., K. of Orleans, and also
§ Siegbert, &c. ‡

* *Clothaire* was also the father of a bastard named *Gundowald*.

† Besides this *Siegbert* and *Meroveus*, *Theodebert* had two more sons, whom *Brunkilda* also caused to be killed.

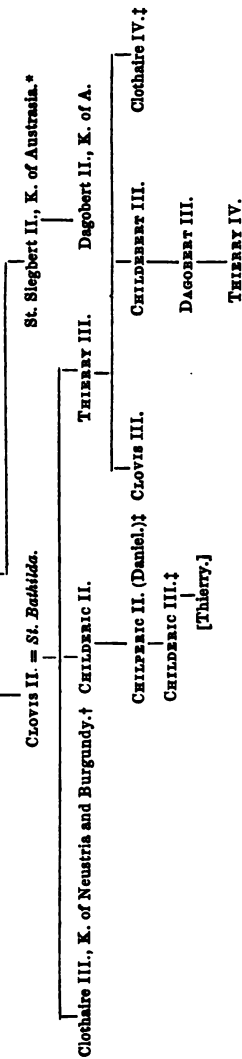
‡ *Siegbert* and three brothers were put to death by *Clothaire* II.

III. (Merovingians.)—Children of CHILPERIC I.



IV. (Merovingians.)—Children of DAGOBERT I.

Gomatruda; and *Nantilda* = DAGOBERT I. = *Ragnatruda*; and *Wulfegunda*; and *Berthilda*.



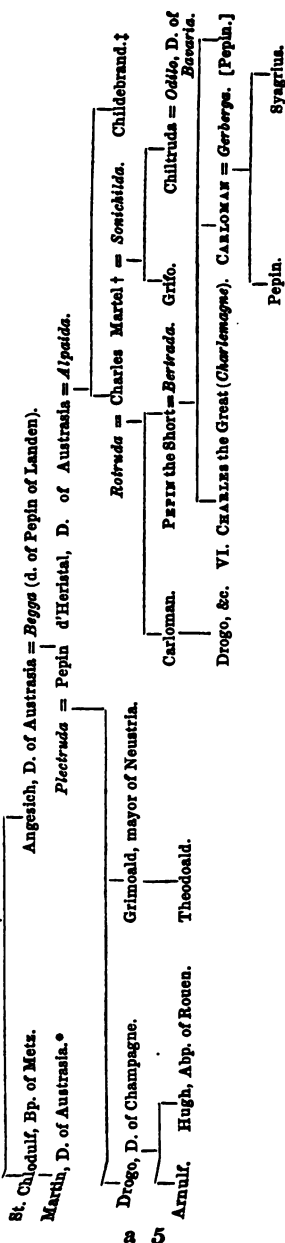
* *St. Sigebert*—who was older than *Clovis II.*—was not in fact legitimate; his father being a polygamist.

† One *Clovis* was pretended to be the son of *Clothaire III.*

‡ *Chilperic II.* and his alleged son *Childeric III.*, and *Clothaire IV.*, are of doubtful origin.

V. The CARLOVINGIAN Family, from *St. Arnulf* to CHARLEMAGNE.

St. Arnulf, Bp. of Metz.

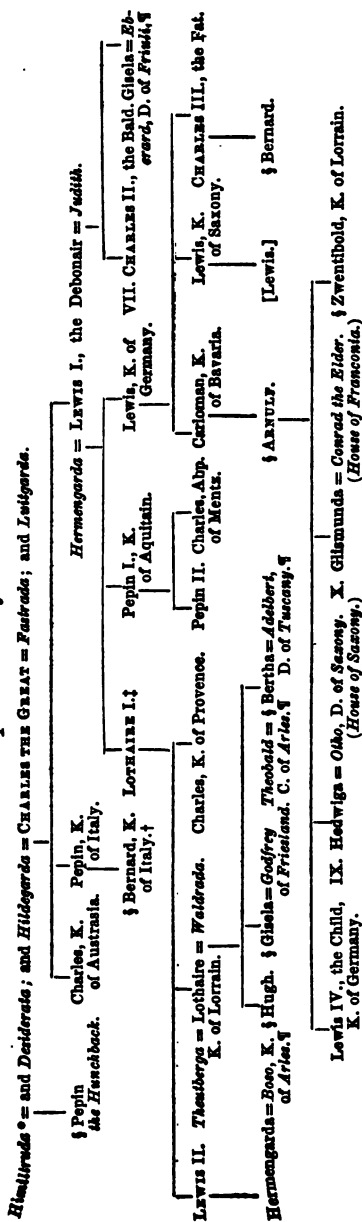


* Some suppose Duke *Martin* to have been the son of *Wulfoad*, mayor of Austrasia in the reign of Childeric II.

† Charles Martel's illegitimate son *Bernard* was father of *St. Adalard* and *St. Wala*.

‡ From CHILDEBRAND the line of Capetian Kings has been derived.—Childebrand's son *Nobilisag*, count of *Autun*, is said to have been the father of *Theodebert*, count of *Autun*, whose son *Robert the Strong*, or the *Angerwin*, was the great-grandfather of HUGH CAPET (see Table XVIII.).

VI. Imperial Line of CHARLEMAGNE.



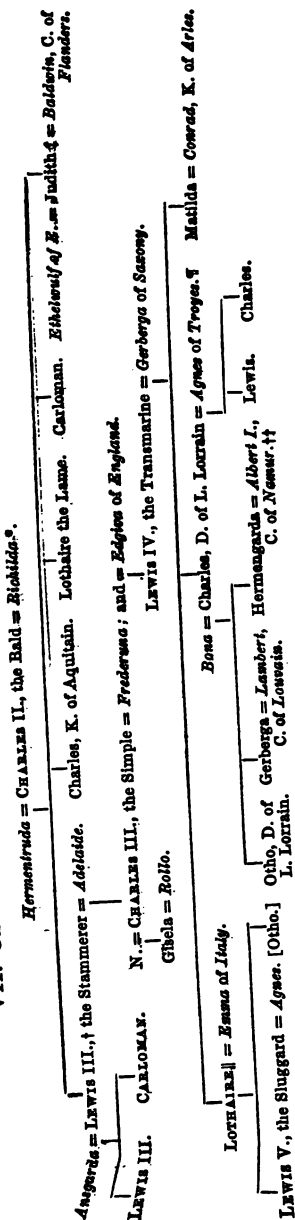
* *Hismilivreda* was only a concubine.

† Bernard was grandfather of *Herbert I.*, C. of *Fernandale*.

‡ One of his daughters is said to have been married to *Guy of Spoleto*, the father of *Guy* and grandfather of *LAMBERT*, the Italian Emperor.

§ See Table VIII.

VII. CARLOVINGIAN Kings of FRANCE, descended from CHARLES THE BALD.



* Richilda, who was sister to Bozo of Arles, had children who all died young.
 † Lewis III., as king of France, is counted as Lewis II.
 ‡ Judith, after the death of Ethelwulf, was incestuously married to his son Ethelbald. The marriage was annulled.
 § Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, was an illegitimate son of Lothaire.
 ¶ Agnes of Troyes, the daughter of queen Edgiva, by Herbert, C. of Troyes, was half-aunt to her husband.
 †† Hermengarda's daughter Hedewiga married Gerard of Alstria, the founder of the Imperial House of Lorraine.

VIII. Kings of ITALY, PROVENCE, and BURGUNDY, descended through females from CHARLEMAGNE.

1. Gisela (d. of Lewis I.) = Eberard, D. of Friuli.

2. N. (d. of Lothaire I.)^a = Guy, D. of Spoleto.

Henry, D. of Fri. Bertilla = BERENGEE I. (D.) of Friuli = Anne.

Lambert, D. of Sp. GUY (D.) of Spoleto = *Agiltrada*. Rothilda = *Adelbert I. D. of Tuscany*.

Gisela = Adelbert II., M. of Ivrea. [Bertha.]

Guy, D. of Sp.

3. **Hermengarda** (d. of Lewis II.) = **Boso**, K. of **Arles**.

Theobald, C. of *Arles* = 4. *Bertha* (d. of Lothaire, K. of Lorrain) = *Adelbert II.*, D. of *Tuscany*.

Eldest of England = *Lewis III.*, the Blind. *Ada* = *Hugh* = *Marozia*; and *Bertha* of *Boso*, D. of T. = *Marozia*. † *Lambert*, *Hernengarda* = *Adelbert II.*, D. of T. M. of *Ivrea*.
K. of Italy. Swabia. of Tuscany.

Charles Constantine, C. of Vienne. |
Lothaire = St. Adelaide. Ada = *Adelice*. Willa = *Berenger II.*
K. of Italy. |

Lewis IV. of Fr. = Emma.

Giuse = Adelbert, M. of Ivrea = *Hermengarda* of Tuscany.

Gerenger II. = *Will.* Anscar, D. of Spoleto.
K. of Italy. |

Rodolf II., K. of Arles = Bertha of Swabia.

Adelbert II. = Gerberga. Guy.	Conon.
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Adela = Conrad I. = *Matilda of France*. Burchard, Bp. [Rodolf.] *Lothaire* = St. *Adelaide* = *Olga I.* K. of *Italy*.

**Otho William,
C. of Burgundy.**

Agilfruda = Rodolf III. = *Hermengarda*. *Eudes* = Bertha = Robert, Gisela = Henry, D. of Gerberga = *Hermas* II, C. of Blois, K. of France, D. of Swabia & Bavaria.

• Some deem her to have been *Adelaide*, d. of Pepin, K. of Italy, and have named her husband *Lambert*.

+ Hugh had a bastard named *Hubert* whom he made

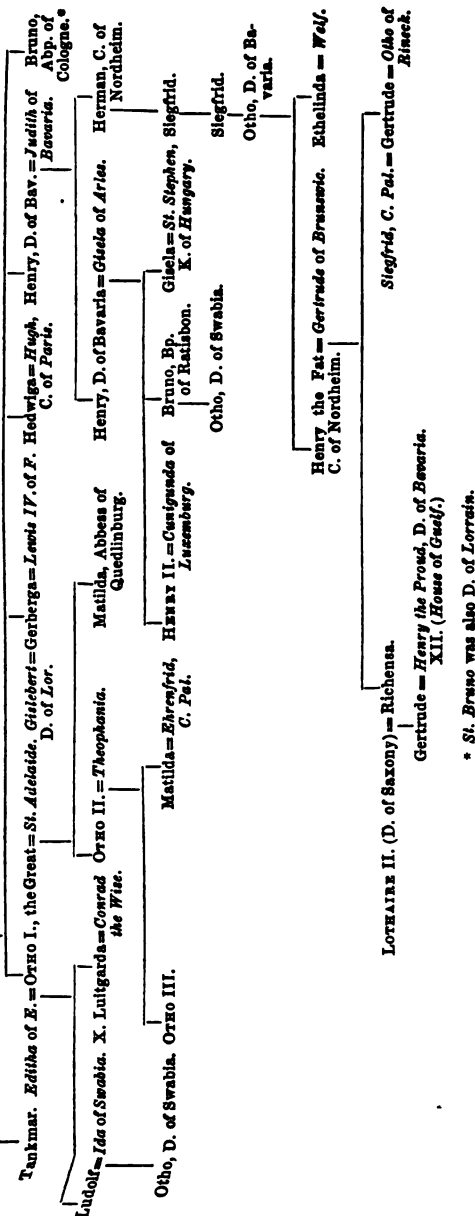
Her first husband was Alberto, D. of Spoleto.

***Rodolf I.* can only have been illegitimately descended from the Carolingians, if at all.**

His eldest daughter *Giusepa* married *Bruno of Brunswick*; *Ernest I.*, D. of *Saxia*; and *Conrad II.*, the *Saxic*.

IX. Imperial House of SAXONY.

Otho, D. of Saxony = *HEDWIGA* (d. of Arnulf, E.).
Heubergs = *HENRY* I., the Fowler = *Matilda*.



X. Imperial Houses of FRANCONIA.

Conrad of Fritzlar* = *GLISMUNDA* (d. of Arnulf, E.).

CONRAD I. (of Franconia) = *Cunigunda*.

Eberhard, D. of Franconia.

- Conrad's brother *Gebhard* was father of *Herman I.*, D. of *Seebia*; whose daughter *Ida* married *Ludolf*, son of *Otho the Great*.

Conrad the Red and the Wise, D. of Franconia and Lorraine = *LUITGARDA* (d. of *Otho the Great*).

Otho, D. of Franconia.

HENRY.

Jutta = Conrad, D. of Franconia = *Matilda of Seebia*.*

Bruno (Pope Gregory V.).

CONRAD II., the Salic = *Gisela of Seebia*.

Conrad, D. of Franconia.

Cunigunda of E.† = HENRY III. = *Agnes of Aquitania*.

Matilda.

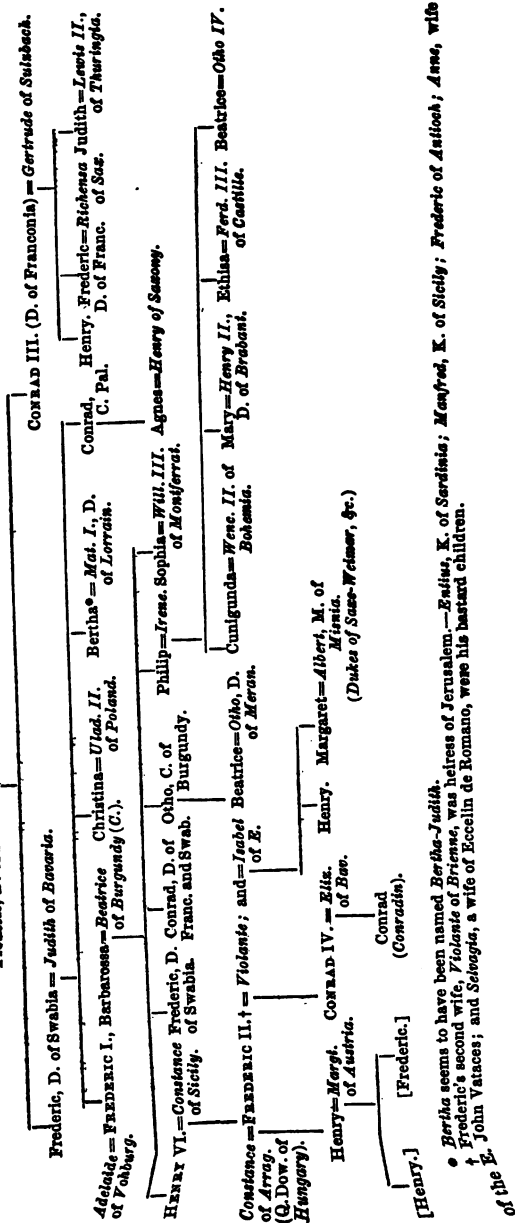
[Beatrice.] *Bertha of Swa* = HENRY IV. = *Praxedis of Russia*. Conrad, D. of *Bavaria*. Matilda = *Rodolf, Solomon of Hungary* = *Judith*‡ = *Ulrich* of *Poland*.

Conrad = *Violante of Sicily*.|| HENRY V. = *Matilda of E.*¶ *Frederic*, D. of *Swabia* = *Agnes* = *Leopold III.*, *Adelaide* = *Boleslaus III.* of *Poland*.

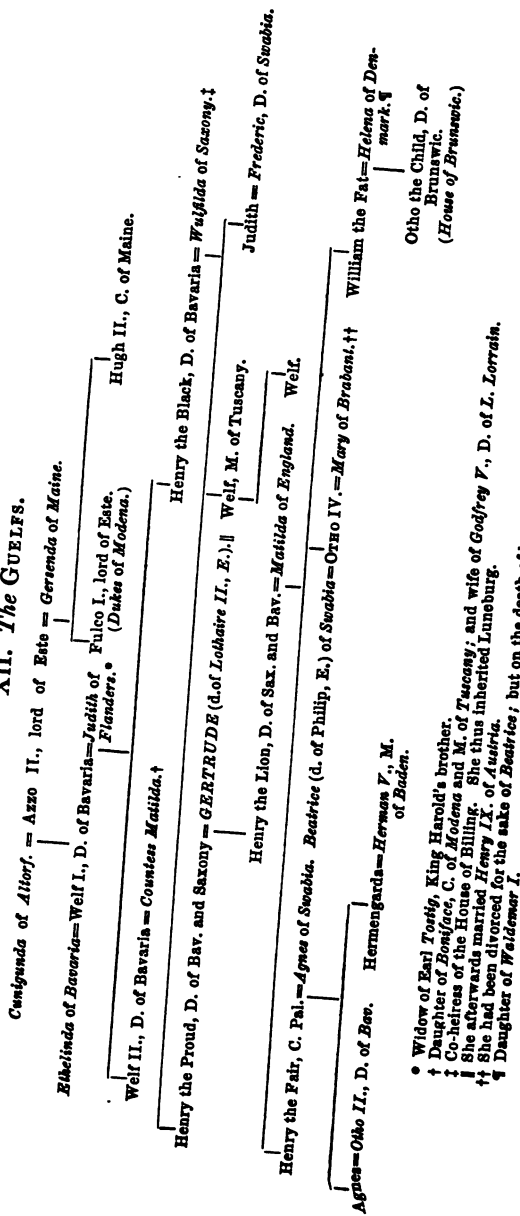
XI. (House of *Seebia*.) M. of *Austria*.

• *Matilda* was the Empress *Gisela's* younger sister; being the daughter of *Gerberga of Arles* and *Herman II.*, D. of *Swabia* (see VIII.). By a second husband, *Frederic II.*, D. of *Lorraine*, she had *Beatrice*, the wife of *Boniface*, marquis of *Tuscany*, and the mother of the Countess *Matilda*.
 † Daughter of *Cunilde the Great*.
 ‡ Also named *Matilda*.
 ¶ Daughter of *Henry I.*

AGNES (d. of Henry IV., E.).



XII. The GUELFs.



but on the death of her rival, had been taken back and re-married.

XIII.—1. *Family of WILLIAM of HOLLAND.*

Florence IV., C. of Holland.

WILLIAM of Holland=Elizabeth of Brunswick (d. of Otho the Child).

Alice=John d'Avesnes.*

Margaret=N., C. of Henneberg.

Florence V.=Beatrice of Flanders.

John I.=Elizabeth of B. (d. of Edward I.)

* Her son John, C. of Hainault, inherited Holland on the death of John I.

2. *Family of RICHARD, E. of CORNWALL.*

Isabel of Pembroke (C. Dowager of Gloucester)=RICHARD, K. of the Romans=Sancho of Provence; and Beatrice of Falkenstein.

Henry d'Almain.

Edmund, E. of Cornwall.

[Richard.]

3. *Family of ADOLPHUS of NASSAU.*

Waleran, C. of Nassau.

ADOLPHUS of Nassau=Isogene of Limburg (in Veteravia).

Otho, C. of Dillenburg.
(Nassau Princess of Orange.)

Gerlac, C. of Nassau.
(Ducal House of Nassau.)

Anne Gertrude of Hohenburg—**RODOLF I.**, of Habsburg*—*Elizabeth Agnes of Burgundy.*

ALBERT I.†=Eliz. of Carinthia.

Matilda—Lewis II.
of Bavaria.

**Wenceslaus IV.,
K. of Bohemia.**

**ia=Ch. Martel,
K. of Hungary.**

gnes of Hartmann.
Bohemia.

<i>Blanche of F.</i> = <i>Rodol.</i> = <i>Ries</i> of <i>Frederic I.</i> , the <i>Fair</i> = <i>Isabel</i>	<i>Leopold I.</i> = <i>Cath.</i>	<i>Albert II.</i> = <i>Joan</i> of <i>Henry</i> = <i>Eliz.</i> <i>Eliz.</i> of <i>Bar.</i> = <i>Obbo</i> = <i>Anne</i>	<i>John.</i>
<i>K. of Bohem. Poland.</i>	<i>of Savoy.</i>	<i>Ferret.</i>	<i>of Bohemia.</i>
<i>of Arracon.</i>	<i>of Wurzburg.</i>		

Rodolf IV. = <i>Cath.</i>	<i>Elks. of Bohem.</i> = Albert III. = <i>Boatice of Nuremberg.</i>	Frederic II.	XVII. Leopold II., D. of Styria.
of <i>Bohemia.</i>			

Albert IV. = Joan of L. Bar. and Holland.

Leopold.
Frederic.

ALBERT II. = Elizabeth (d. of Sigismund, E.).

Margaret=Henry the Rich, of Bavaria-Landshut.

-aiglane Posthumus,

Anne=William of Saxony (M. of Meina).

Elizabeth=Casimir IV. of Poland.

* Among Rodolf's other daughters were *Agnes* = Albert II. of Saxony; *Hedeviga* = Otho IV., M. of Brandenburg; and *Catharine* = Otho of Lower Bavaria.
† Albert's daughters were *Agnes* = Andrew III. of Hungary; *Catharine* = Charles, D. of Calabria; *Elizabeth* = Fred. IV., D. of Lorraine; *Anne* = Herman, M. of Brandenburg; and *Jedith* = Lewis, C. of Göttingen.
‡ Q. Dowager of Bohemia.

† Frederic left two daughters, *Anne*—John Henry, C. of Goritz; and *Elizabeth*.

2. Their elder daughter *Catherine* married *Ingraham (Esquerra) de Coscy*, father of the famous count of Solisons.

XV. Descendants of Waleran of Limburg.—Imperial House of LUXEMBURG.

Adelaide—Waleran III., D. of Limburg—*Hermansetta* of LUXEMBURG.

Henry, D. of Limb.—*Cunigunde* of Berg. Margaret—Fred., C. of Luxemburg—*Margaret* of Bar.

Adolphus, C. of Berg. Waleran IV., D. of Limburg. Henry IV., C. of Lux.—*Beatrice* of Waleran, L. of Ligny. Philippina—John, C. Isabel—Guy, C. of Flanders. of *Heinselt*.

Reginald—Hermengarda. Henry VII.—*Margaret* of Brebenst. Waleran. Baldwin, Abp. of Treves. C. of *Guelders*.

Elizabeth of Bohemia—John, K. of Bohemia *—*Beatrice* of Bourbon. Beatrice—*Charobert*, K. of Hungary. Mary—*Charles IV.* of France.

Blanche of Valois †—*Charles IV.*—*Anne* (d. of El. Pal.); and—*Anne* of *Schweidnitz*; ‡ and—*Zita*. Bona—*John II.* John Henry, Wenceslaus—*Joan* D. of Lux. of Brebenst. of *F.* M. of Moravia.

Lewis the Great—Margt. [Wenceslaus.] *Joan*—*Wenceslaus*—*Septis Mary*—*Stoickund*—*Barbara* John, D. of Gorlitz, Anne—*Rich. II.* *Procopius* K. of Hungary. of Holland. of *Bac.* of Hungary. of *Citici.* M. of Morav.

ALBERT II.—*Elizabeth*. *Antony*—*Elizabeth* of Gorlitz—*John* of *Bac.*, Bp. elect of *Liege*. D. of Brebenst.

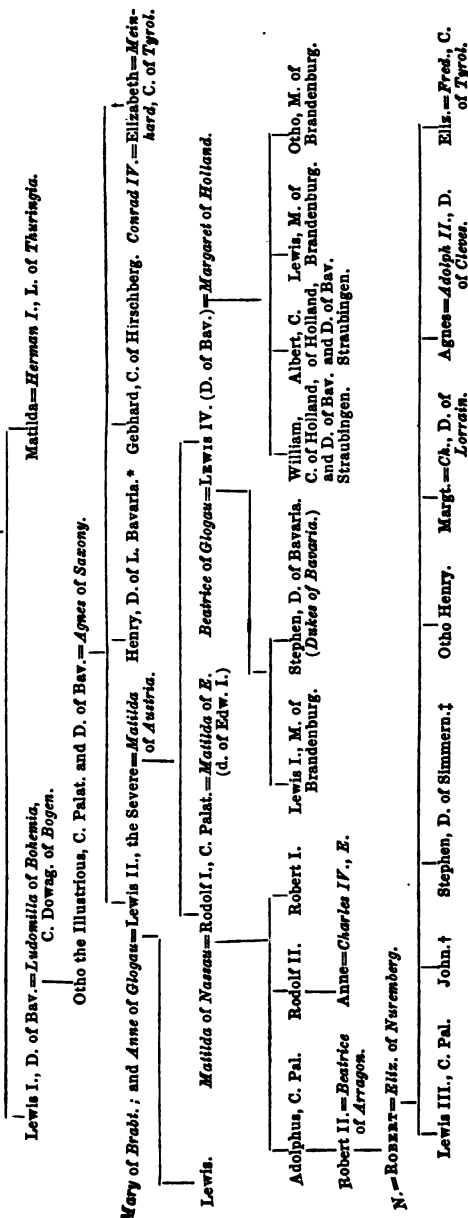
* John was also father of *Anne*—*Otho* the Bold, D. of Austria.

† Beside *Margaret*, *Blanche* had *Catherine*—*Rodolf IV.* of Austria.

‡ *Procopius* married *Cath.* of Hungary.—He was margrave of Brandenburg (which at first he shared with *Joan Procopius*, his half-brother), duke of Luxemburg and margrave of Moravia. He was also elected Emperor.—His elder half-brother, *John Sobieslaus*, was patriarch of Aquileia.

XVI. Medieval Emperors of the House of WITTELSBACH.

Otho the Great, of Wittelsbach, D. of Bavaria=*Agnes of Wasserburg*.

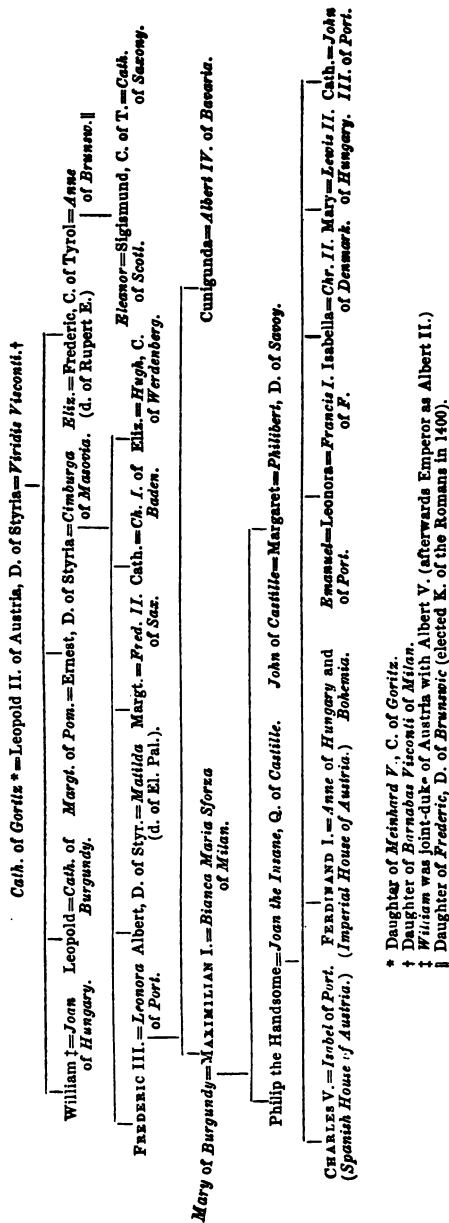


* Branch extinct in 1320.

† By *Sophie of Pomerania*, John was father of *CHRISTOPHER*, K. of Denmark.

‡ Stephen's sons were *Fred.*, D. of Simmern, from whom came the line of Simmern; and *Lewis*, D. of Zweibrücken (or Deux-Ponts), the progenitor of the lines of Neuburg, Deux-Ponts, Sulzbach, and Birkenfeld (the last two of which also successively inherited Bavaria).

XVII. Imperial House of AUSTRIA.—LEOPOLDINE Line.



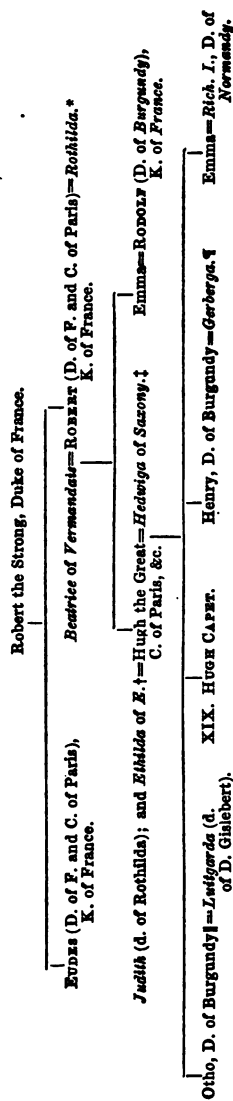
* Daughter of *Meinhard V.*, C. of *Gortiz*.

† Daughter of *Barnabas Visconti* of *Milan*.

‡ William was joint-duk- of Austria with Albert V. (afterwards Emperor as Albert II.)

§ Daughter of *Frederic*, D. of *Brunswick* (elected K. of the Romans in 1400).

XVIII. *Kings, Dukes of France, and Counts of Paris, descended from ROBERT THE STRONG.—Origin of the* CAPETIAN Kings of FRANCE.



* *Rothilda* had been mistress of Charles the Simple.

† *Elizabeth* was daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of Athelstan.

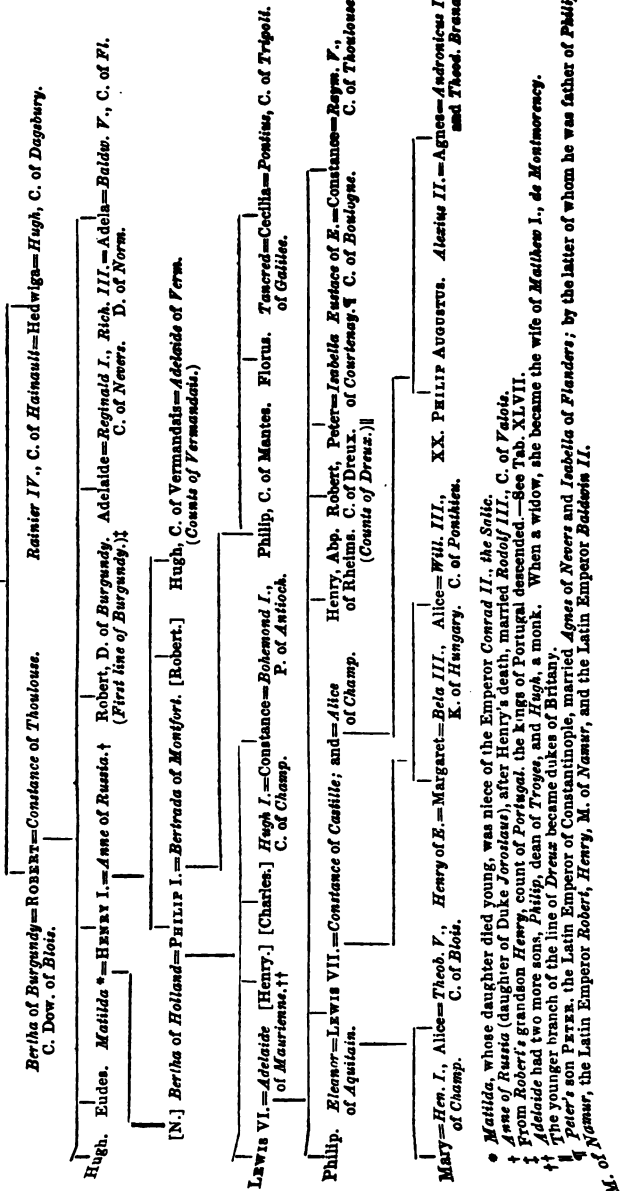
‡ *Hedwiga* was daughter of Henry the Fowler, and sister of Otho the Great.

|| Otho is commonly deemed to have been the second son.

¶ *Gerberga* (or *Garsenda*) was widow of *Adalbert*, K. of *Liege*, by whom she had *Otho William*, C. of *Burgundy*.

----- **ANCIEN RINGS OF FRANCE, from HUGH CAPET to PHILIP AUGUSTUS.**

HUGH CAPET=Adelaide.



XX. CAPETIAN Kings of FRANCE, from PHILIP AUGUSTUS to CHARLES IV.

Isabella of Hainault = PHILIP II. AUGUSTUS = *Ingeborga of Denmark*; * and = *Agnes of Merania*. *

Lewis VIII. = *Blanche of Castille*. Philip, C. of Boulogne = *Matilda* Philip = *Mary* = *Henry*, D. of *Boulogne*. M. of *Namur*. of *Brabant*.

Philip. Lewis IX. = *Margaret* Robert, C. of Artois. Alfonso, C. of Poitiers = *Jane of Thoulouse*. XXV. Charles, C. of Anjou. [John.] Elizabeth. of *Prov.*† (Counts of Artois.) (Kings of Naples, &c.)

Lewis. *Isabel of Arrag.* = PHILIP III. = *Mary* [John.] John, Peter, XXIV. Robert, C. of Clermont. Isabel = *Theob. II.*, Blanche = *Ferdinand* of *Brab.* C. of Nevers. C. of Alençon. (House of Bourbon.) K. of Nav. *de la Cerda*.

Lewis. PHILIP IV. = *Jane* XXI. Charles, C. of Valois. [Robert.] Lewis, Margt. = *Edw. I. of E.* Blanche = *Rodolf*, K. of *Bohemia*. of *Navarre*. (House of Valois.) C. of Evreux.

Margaret = Lewis X. = *Clementia* PHILIP V. = *Jane* Blanche = CHARLES IV. = *Mary of Luss*; † and = *Jane* [Robert.] Isabel = *Edw. II.* of *Burgundy*. of *Hungary*. C. of *Burgundy* and *Artois*. of *Burg.* (C.) of *Evreux*. of *E.*‡

Philip = *Jane*, Q. JOHN. *Jane* = *Eudes IV.*, Mary = *Lewis*, Isabel = *Guy VII.*, [Blanche.] [Jane.] Mary. Blanche = Philip, D. of *Orleans*. C. of *Evreux*. of Nav. D. of *Burg.* C. of *Fl.* Dauph. of *Vienna*. XXV. (House of Navarre.)

* *Ingeborga* or *Ingeburga* is also called *Isemburga*; and *Agnes of Merania* is also called *Mary*.

† *Margaret* had two more daughters, — *Margaret* = John I., D. of *Brabant*; and *Agnes* = Robert II., D. of *Burgundy*.

‡ *Mary of Luxemburg* was daughter of the Emperor *Henry VII.*

|| Hence the claim of *Edward III.* to the French crown.

Ser.—VOL. I.

Margaret of Naples * = Charles, C. of Valois and Anjou = Catherine of Courtenay; † and = Elizabeth of St. Pol.

James of Burgundy = *Philip VI.* = *Blanche* Charles, C. of Alençon. Isabel = *John III.*, [John.] Cath. = *Philip*, Jane = *Robt.* Isabel = *Peter I.*, Blanche = *Ch. IV.*,
of Nav. (*Dukes of Alençon.*) D. of Brit. of Artois. D. of Bourbon. E.
P. of Taranto.

<i>Bona of Luxemburg</i> — JOHN the Good— <i>Jane of Auvergne</i> .	Philip , D. of Orleans— <i>Blanche of France</i> .	Mary — <i>John of Brab.</i> , D. of Limburg.	Blanche .
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CHARLES V. = *Jane of Bourbon.* XXVI. Lewis I., D. of Anjou.
(2nd House of Anjou.)
XXVIII. Phillip, D. of Burgundy. Jane = *Ch. the Bad,*
(2nd House of Burgundy.) K. of Nav.
Mary = *Rob. I.,* Isabel = *John Giscard,*
D. of Bar. D. of Milan.

CHARLES VI.—*Isabel of Bavaria*. †
XXII. Lewis, D. of Orleans.
Catherine—*John of Berry*,
(*House of Orleans-Valois*.)
C. of Montpensier.

Charles, Dph. Lewis, Dph. John, Dph. — *Jane*, C. CHARLES VII. — *Mary* of Rich. II. of E. — *Isabel* — Ch. D. Henry V. of E. — Cath. — Owen Tudor. of Burgundy. † of Holland. † of Artois. of Orleans.

Margaret=Lewis XI.=Charlotte of Savoy. ♀ Charles, D. of Guéenne. Cath.=Ch. the Bold of Burgundy. Violante=Amad. IX. Jane=John II. Magdalen=Gaston, P. of Navarre. of Bourbon. of Savoy. of Vienna.

CHARLES VIII.—*Anne of Brit.*

Jane=Lewis XII.

* Margaret had Anjou for her dower. Another of her daughters was *Jane* = Charles the Good, C. of Hainault and Holland.
 † Catherine was the daughter of Philip of Courtenay, son of the Latin Emperor Baldwin II.

4 Catherine was the daughter of *Faust* of *Conrathway*, son of the Latin Emperor *Barabim II.*
 4 *Isabel* was also mother of *Jane* = John VI.; D. of Brit.; and of *Micelle* = Phillip the Good D. of Burgundy.

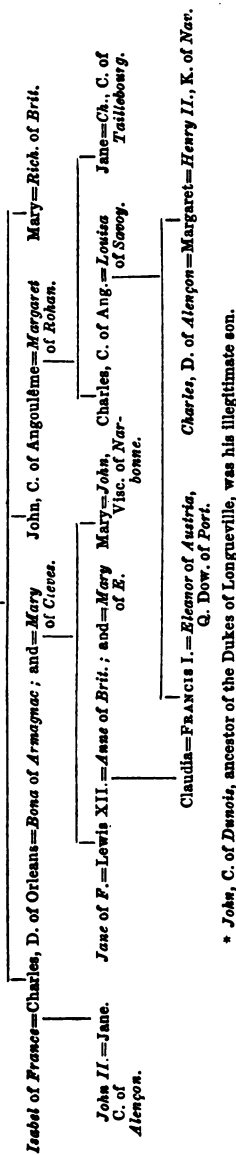
Jane (or *Jacqueline*) of *Basara*, the notorious Countess of Gloucester, and Frank of Bursellen, all three being alive. *Jane* was also mother of *Jane* = *John* V., D. of Brit.; and of *Antickette* = Philip the Good, D. of Burgundy. *Jacobi* was also mother of *Jane* = *John* V., D. of Brit.; and of *Antickette* = Philip the Good, D. of Burgundy.

↑ *JANE (or Janywessne) of Bursellen*, the notorious Countess of Gloucester, and Frank of Bursellen, all three being alive.

D. " Mary had also a daughter named *Kadigunda*.
 † *Charlotte* of *Saroy* had several other children, who died young.

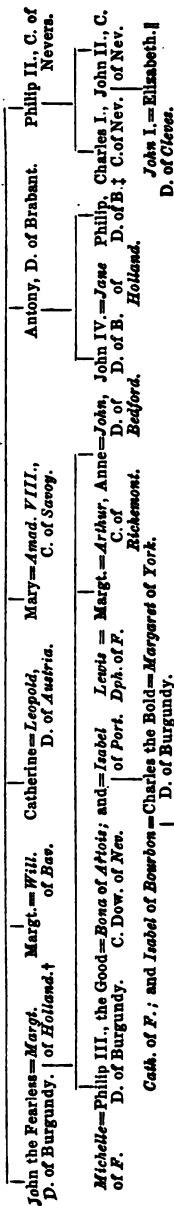
XXII. *Houses of ORLEANS-VALOIS and ANGOULEME, to LEWIS XII. and FRANCIS I.*

Lewis, D. of Orleans and C. of Valols * = *Valentina Visconti.*



XXIII. *Second Capetian House of Burgundy.*

Phillip I., D. of Burgundy * = *Margaret*, C. of Flanders, *Burgundy*, and *Artois* = **Phillip II.**, the Bold, D. of Burgundy.



* Philip I. was the last duke of the First House.

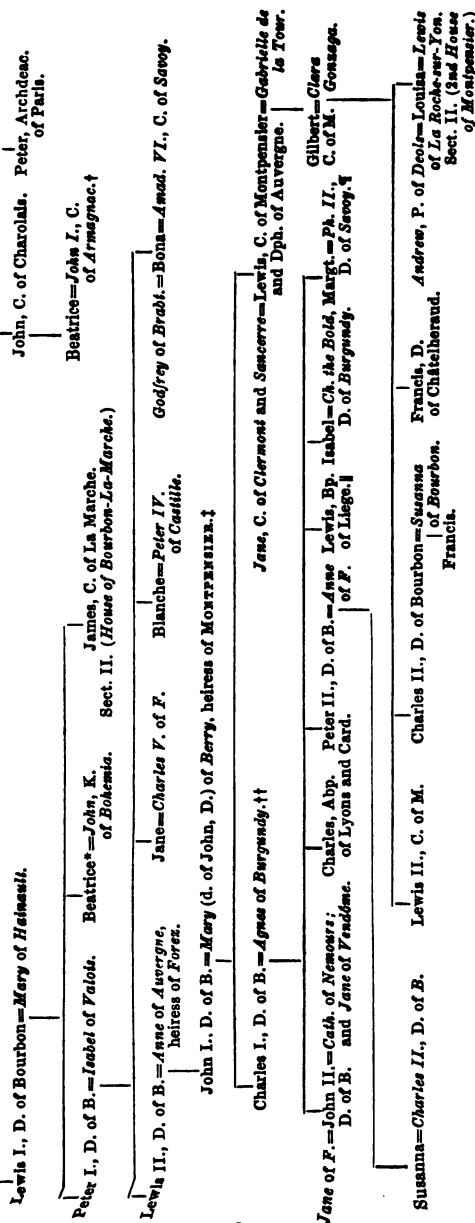
† *Margaret* was also mother of *Mary* = *Adolphus*, D. of Cleves; *Catherine* = C. of Guise; *Isabel* = Oliver, C. of Penthièvre; and *Agnes* = Charles I., D. of

FROM. On the death of Philip. Brebant was 'buried' in Philip the Good.

1. Information is obtained from Demographic and Technological Forecasting for 1999

XXIV. House of BOURBON.—Section I. (Laws of England and Denmark, 1801.)

Robert, C. of Clermont=Beatrice of Burgundy=Charols, heiress of Bourbon.



* *Beatrice* afterwards married Eudes, L. of Grancei in Burgundy. One of her sisters was *Mary of Bourbon*, the wife of Guy, P. of Galidoe (son of Hugh IV., of Cyprus), and of Robert, P. of Tarento.
K. *John's* grandson sold Charolais to the dukes of Burgundy.

K. John's grandson sold Charolais to the dukes of Burgundy.

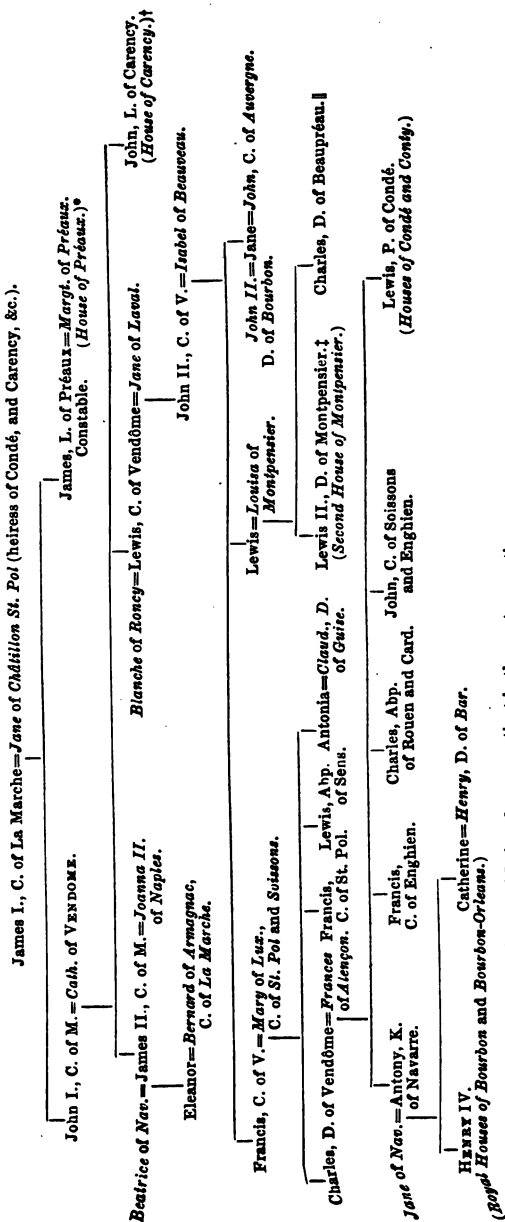
Besides Montpensier, *Mary of Berry* brought the dauphinate of Auvergne into the Bourbon family.

Agnes's eldest daughter *Mary* was married to John of Anjou, D. of Calabria.

†† Ancestor of the Bastard line of Bourdon-Bussel.
 ¶ Their daughter was Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I.

†† Ancestor of the Bastard line of Bourbon-Busset.

XXIV. House of BOURBON.—Section II. (*Lines of Bourbon-La-Marche and Bourbon-Vendôme.*)



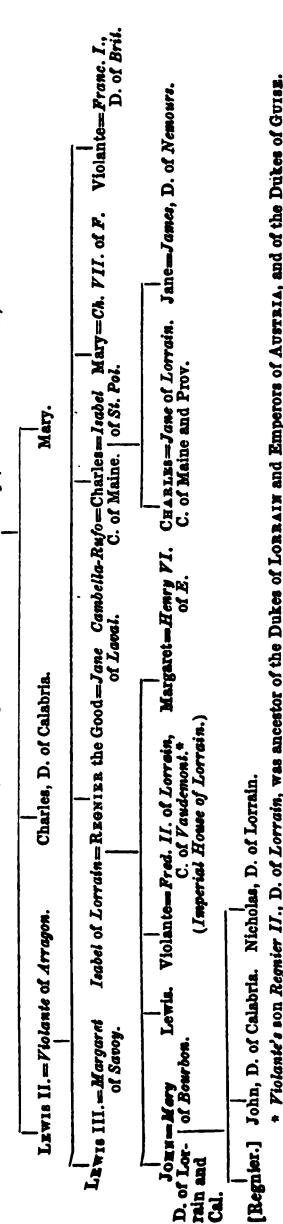
* The House of *Préaux* became extinct in the next generation.

† The House of *Carençy* lasted three generations.

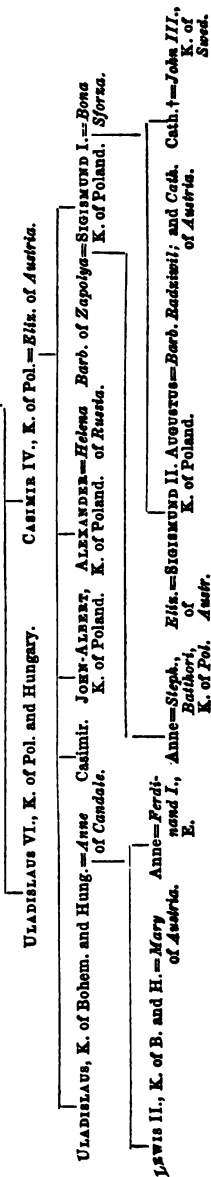
‡ This line ended in his great granddaughter *Mary* = *Gaston, D. of Orléans* (brother of *Lewis XIII.*).

‡ The House of *Beaupréau* ended in the next generation.

LEWIS I., D. of Anjou and C. of Provence=Mary (d. of Charles of Blois).

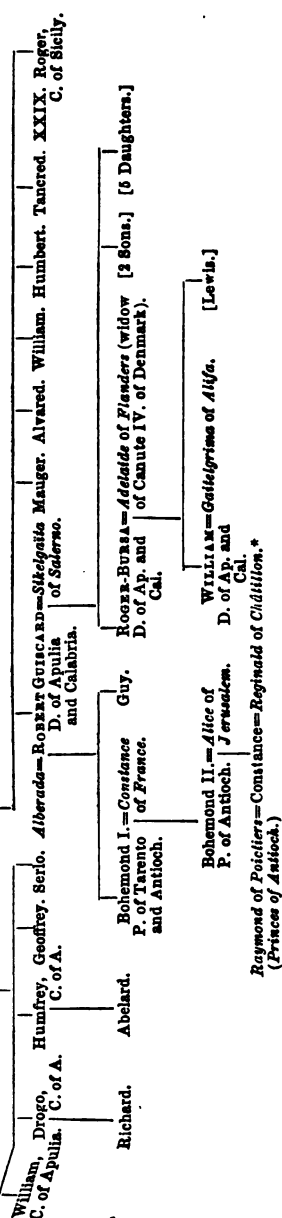


Hedwiga; and *Anne of Cilice**=*ULADISLAVUS V.*, K. of Poland=*Elizabeth Piletska*; and=*Sophia* (d. of a Russian prince).



XXXVIII. The NORMAN Counts and Dukes of APULIA.

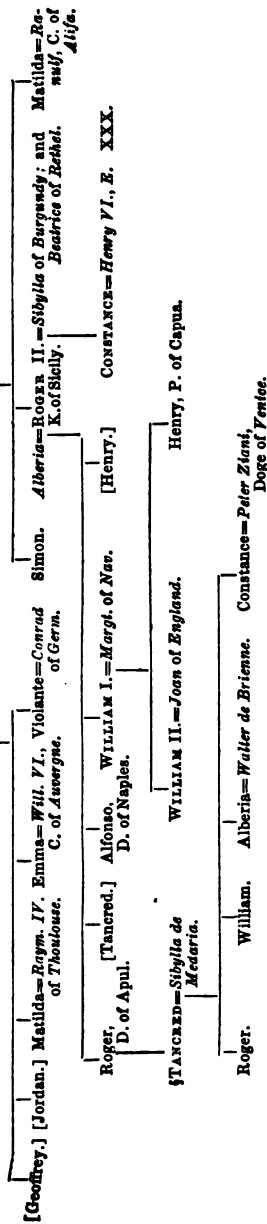
Mortella—Tancred of Hauteville—*Fredesina*.



* This Reginald of Châtillon, by a second marriage, became the lord of *Carcas* and *Montreal*. (See vol. i. p. 65.)

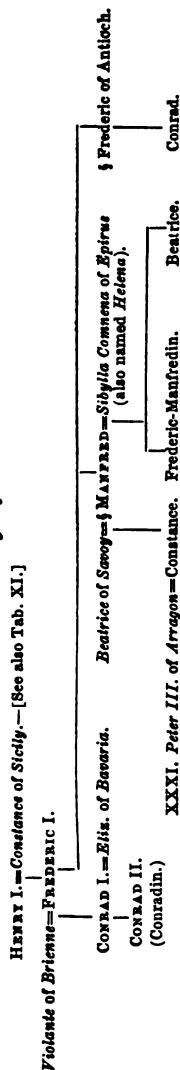
XXIX. The NORMAN Counts and Kings of SICILY.

Deileti (or *Judith*): and *Eremburga* * = ROGER I., Great Count of Sicily and Calabria = *Adelaide* of *Montferrat*.



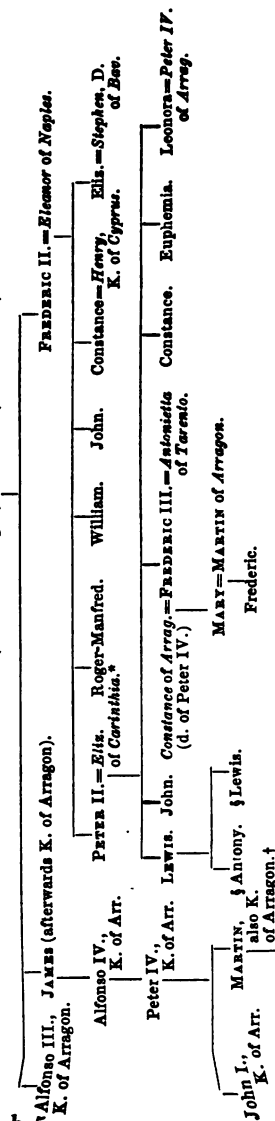
* *Eremburga* had a fourth daughter (*Basilila* ?), who married *Coloman*, K. of *Hungary*.

XXX. SWABIAN Kings of SICILY.



XXXI. ARRAGONESE Kings of the ISLAND of SICILY.

PETER I. (also K. of Arragon)=Constance (d. of Manfred).

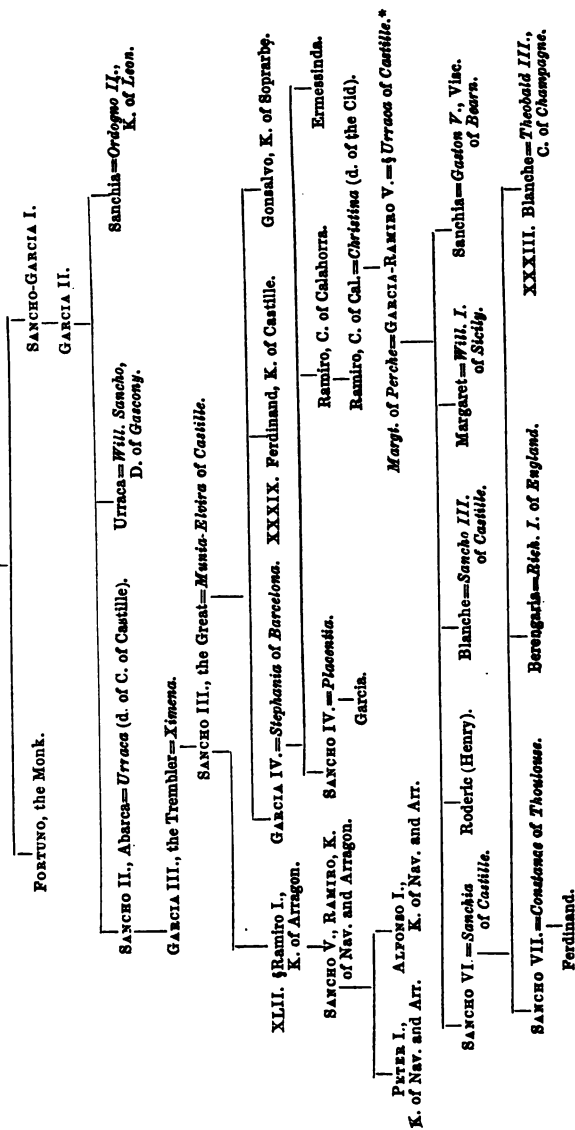


MARY, Q. of Sicily=MARTIN=Blanche, heiress of Nav.

* Elizabeth's sixth daughter was Beatrice = Robert II., C. Palatine.

† On the death of his son, MARTIN re-united Sicily to Arragon.

GARCIA-XIMENES.



* Illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VIII. of Castille.

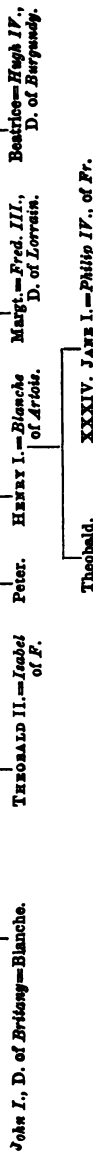
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Theobald III., C. of Champagne=Blanche, Q. of Navarre.

Gertrude of Dagsberg (D. Dow. of Lorrain); and Agnes of Lorrain; and Agnes of Bourbon.



XXXIV. Kings of NAVARRE, of the House of FRANCE.

Philip IV. of France=Jane I., Q. of Navarre.

Lewis the Hutin.

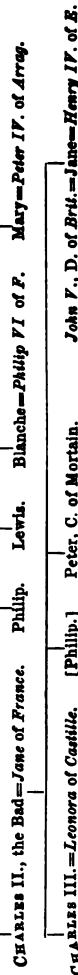
Philip the Long.

CHARLES I., the Fair.

XXXV. JANE II.=Philip of Evreux.

XXXV. Kings of NAVARRE, of the House of EVREUX.

Philip, C. of Evreux*=Jane II., Q. of Navarre.



Charles, P. of Viana.

Lewis.

Jane=John, Martin, K. of Sicily=Blanche=John II. of Arag. XXXVI. Beatrice=James, Isabel=John IV., C. of Foix.

C. of Merche.

C. of Aragon.

* N.B. Philip of Evreux,—like Philip the IV. of France,—was styled king while his wife was living.

Blanche, Q. of Navarre=JOHN (afterwards K. of Arag. and Nav.)=Joanna Henricæ.

Charles, P. of Viana=*Agnes of Cleves.* *Blanche=Henry of Castille, P. of Asturias.**

**** Afterwards Henry IV. of Castille.**

XXXVII. LEONORA=Gaston IV.,
C. of Poix.

FERDINAND, K. of Arragon (and afterwards of Navarre).†

† See Table XLVI.

XXXVII. *Sovereigns of NAVARRE, of the House of FOIX.*

Gaston IV., C. of Poix=*Leonora*, Q. of Navarre.

Gaston, P. of Viana=Magdalen — **of Fr.**

Visc. of Narbonne = *Mary Peter*, [Jas. Peter] of Orleans. Card.

nes.] Mary=Will. V., Jane=John V.,
M. of Montserrat. C. of

r. II., Cath. = John, C. of
D. of Brit. Candale.

FRANCIS-PHILIP. XXXVIII. CATHERINE=John, Gaston, D. of Nemours.
L. of Albret.

—**Germaine=Ferdinand, K. of Arrag. and Nav.**

XXXVIII. *Titular Sovereigns of NAVARRE, of the House of ALBRET.*

JOHN d'Albret* = Catherine, Q. of Navarre.

HENRY II. = Margt. of Alençon. Charles. Isabel = Regnier, Visc. of Rohan. Anne † = John of Foix-Candale, C. of Astorg.

JANE = ANTOY of Bourbon. ‡

* Navarre was conquered from *D'Albret*, by FERDINAND of ARAGON, and permanently retained.
† Anne had been contracted to *Gaston of Foix-Narbonne*; but was not married to him.
‡ Their son was *Henry IV.*, K. of France (and Titular K. of Navarre as *HENRY III.*).

XXXIX. *Kings of CASTILLE and LEON, of the Line of SANCHE the GREAT.*

FERDINAND I., K. of Castille and Leon = Sanchia of Leon.

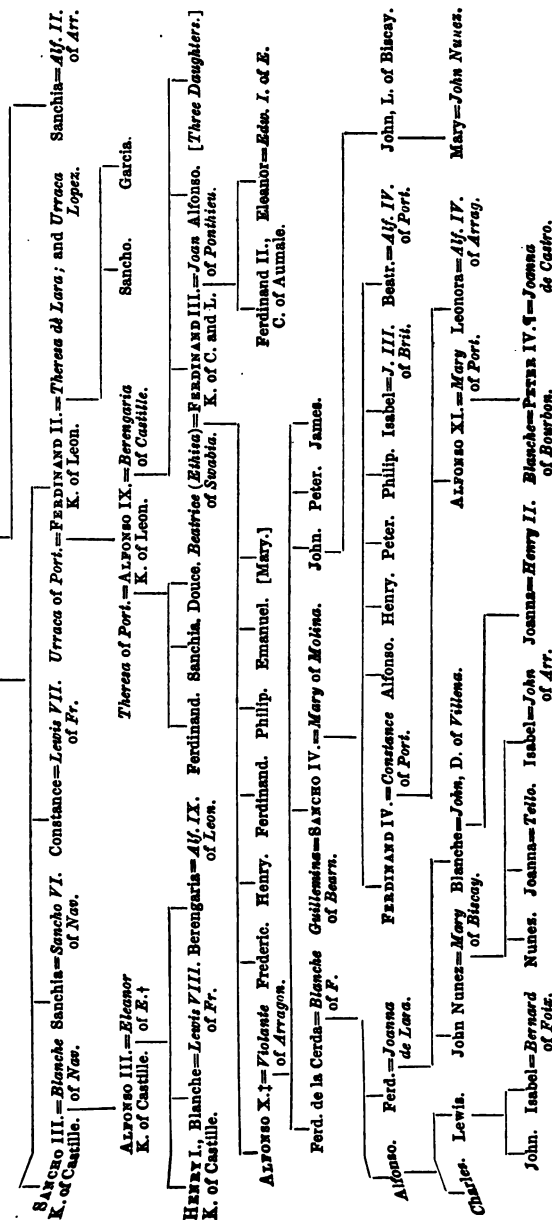
SANCHE II. = Blanche. Agnes of Poitiers; and Constance of Burgund. = ALFONSO VI. * = Bertha; and = Zaida; and Beatrice. Garcia, Urraca. Elvira.
XL. URRACA. Sancho. K. of Galicia.

* Alfonso had lost his first bride, *Agatha*, William the Conqueror's daughter; whom he had married by proxy, and who died on her voyage out to Spain. — His illegitimate daughter *THESSA* was married to *HENRY*, C. of PORTUGAL, and became the ancestress of the Portuguese kings.

XL. *Kings of CASTILLE and LEON, of the Line of BURGUNDY (C.).*

Raymond of Burgundy (C.).=URRACA=Alfonso of Arragon (ALFONSO VII.).

Berengaria of Barcelona==ALFONSO VIII.*=*Richilda of Poland.*

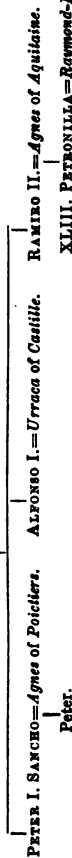


* *Alfonso's illegitimate daughter Urraca married Garcia V., King of Navarre.*

XLII. Kings of ARRAGON, of RAMIRO's Line.

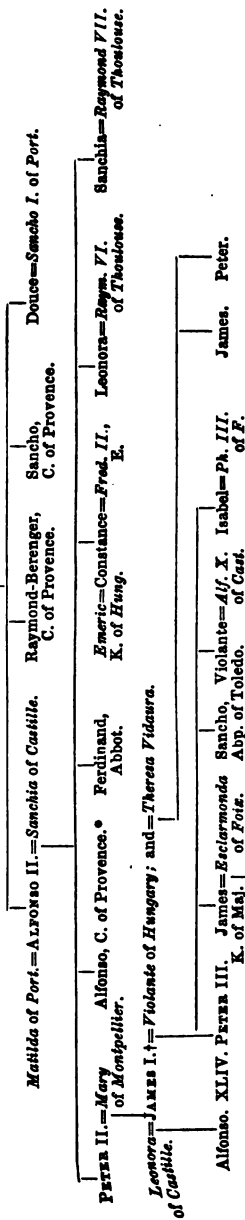
RAMIRO I. (son of Sancho the Great) = *Gisberga of Bigorre*.

Felicia of Roncey = SANCHE-RAMIRO = *Philippa of Thoulouse*.



XLIII. Kings of ARRAGON, of the House of BARCELONA, to PETER III.

Raymond-Berenger, C. of Barcelona = *Petronilla, Q. of Arragon*.



JAMES = JAMES I. of Naples.

Isabel = *John II., M. of Montferrat*.

* Alfonso's son Raymond-Berenger left daughters only. BERNARDA, the youngest, wife of Charles of Anjou, K. of Sicily, inherited Provence. Her elder sister was Margaret = Lewis IX. of F.; ELISABETH = Henry III. of E.; and SANCHIA = Rob., K. of the Romans.

† James had a bastard son, Ferdinand-Sanche, who was put to death by Peter III.

XLIV. Kings of ARAGON, of the Line of BARCELONA, from PETER III. to MARTIN.

PETER III. = Constance of Sicily (d. of Manfred).

ALFONSO III. *Bianche of Naples* = JAMES II. = Mary of Cyprus. XXXI. Frederic III., K. of Sicily. Isabel = Despes, K. of Port. Violante = Rob., K. of Naples.

James.* *Theresa d'Estecca* = ALFONSO IV. = Leonora of Arragon.† Peter-Raymond, D. of Gandia. John. [Five Daughters.‡]

Mary of = PETER IV. = Leonora of Port.; and = Leonora of Sic.; and = Marthe; and Sibylla James, Constance = Jac. II. Ferd. = Mary John = Isabel Alfonso, Nav.‡ D. of Port. C. of Urgel. of Mof. de Lora. Gandia. Tortosa.

Constance = Fred. II., Peter. Marthe (or Jane) = JOHN I. = Violante Mary of = MARTIN = Margt. Alfonso. XLV. Leonora = John I. Isabel = Peter, C. of Urgel. K. of Sic. of Bar. Luna. de Prades. of Castile.

Joanna = Mat., C. of Foiz. Violante = Lewis II., Mary of = Martin = Blanche of Navarre. D. of Anjou. Sicily. K. of Sic.

§ Frederic, C. of Luna.

* James, afterwards Master of Montesa, gave up his birthright, and deserted his bride Leonora of Arragon at the altar.

† Leonora of Arragon had been the discarded bride of her husband's elder brother.

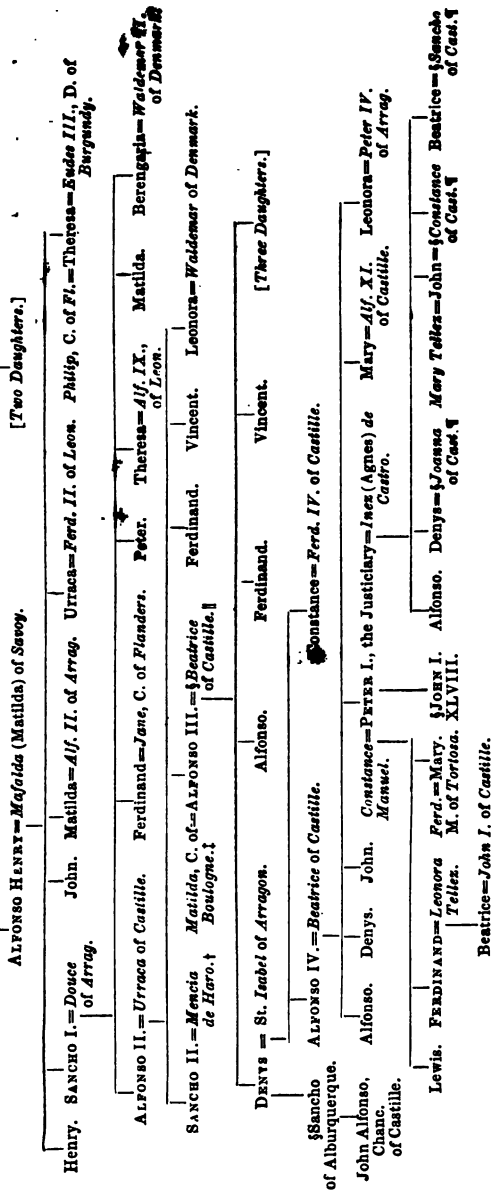
‡ Four of these daughters were married to some of the chief nobles of Arragon.

§ Mary of Navarre had a second daughter Joanna = John of Arragon, C. of Ampurias.

¶ JAMES, C. of URGEL, was candidate for the crown on the death of King Martin. He was opposed by ALFONSO, D. of GARCIA; PEDRARRIC, C. of LUNA; LEWIS of Anjou, the Infanta Violante's son; and more successfully, by FERDINAND, Infant of CASTILLE, second son of the Infanta Leonora.

XLVII. *Kings of Portugal, of the Line of Burgundy.*

Henry of Burgundy,* C. of Portugal=†*Theresa* (d. of Alfonso VI. of Castille).



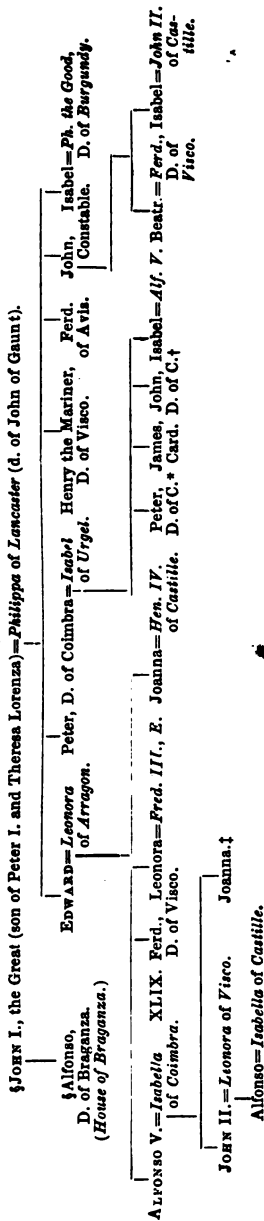
* Youngest son of Henry, son of ROBERT I., D. of BURGUNDY. (See Tab. XIX.)

† Daughter of *Lupus de Haro* and §*Urraca* (a child of Alfonso III. of Castille).

‡ *Matilda* of Dammarie, widow of Philip Hurepel of Fr.

¶ Children of Henry of Trastamara, K. of Castille.

XLVIII. Kings of Portugal, of the Elder Line of JOHN the GREAT.



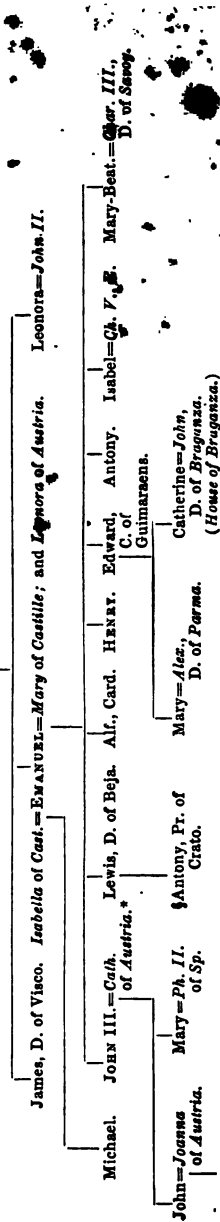
* Peter was proclaimed king of Arragon by the Catalan rebels.

† John married *Charlotte* of Cyprus, of which island he became regent.

‡ Refused the Emp. Maximilian, Charles VIII. of France, and Richard III. of England, and died a nun.

XLIX. Kings of Portugal, of the Line of FERDINAND of VISCO.

Ferdinand, D. of Visco = *Beatrice* (d. of Infant John).



PART IV.

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS AND MAHOMETANS.

SECTION I.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE, FROM THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS
TO THE TIME OF THE COMPLETE SCHISM.

- A. D. 395. *Final division of the Empire. Arcadius.*
404. Exile of St. Chrysostom ; death of Eudoxia.
408. Theodosius II.
431. Council of Ephesus ; Nestorius condemned.
450. Marcian.
451. Council of Chalcedon ; Eutyches condemned.
453. Death of Pulcheria.
457. [Leo I.]
474. [Leo II. (grandson of Leo I.)]
[Zeno (Leo II.'s father, Leo I.'s son-in-law).]
491. [Anastasius I.]
680. Third Council of Constantinople ; the Monothelites
condemned.

ARCADIUS, the degenerate son of the great Theodosius (from whom he had inherited the sceptre of the East), was a puppet in the hands of worthless ministers, and at last of his covetous wife *Eudoxia*, by whom *St. Chrysostom*, the
. 2nd Ser.

eloquent patriarch of Constantinople, was driven into exile. He was succeeded, May 408, by his son THEODOSIUS II., a prince whose incapacity was remedied by the talents of his sister *Pulcheria*¹.

This emperor (who died July 450) left no male heirs; and for a thousand years, various dynasties, of which the history is a hideous tale of vice, treachery, cruelty, cowardice, and superstition, reigned in their turn².

A. D. 518. Justin I.

527. Justinian I.

532. Sedition of the Blue and Green factions.

534. *Belisarius conquers the African Vandals.—Last revision of Justinian's Code.*

539. Belisarius takes Ravenna, the capital of the Ostrogoths.

542. Belisarius repels Chosroës. Successes of the Ostrogoth Totila.—The Pestilence begins.

546. Totila sacks Rome.

549. Totila again takes Rome.

552. *Narses defeats Totila.*

554. Narses reduces the Ostrogoths.

559. Belisarius defeats the Bulgarians.

565. Death of Belisarius.

The reign of JUSTINIAN (whose uncle JUSTIN I., a strong-minded but illiterate Dacian peasant³, died emperor, Aug. 527) was remarkable for the abolition of the

¹ After her brother's death, she married in her old age the valiant *Marcian*, and raised him to the throne. Theodosius II. had but a daughter, *Eudoxia*, the wife of *Valentinian III.*

² Religious quarrels still further weakened the empire. There arose the *Nestorians* (named after *Nestorius*, the patriarch of Constantinople), who held that there were two persons in Christ; the *Eutyckians*, or *Monophysites*, who said that He had only one nature; and the *Monothelites*, who asserted that He had only one will; and also the upholders and opposers of image worship.

³ His name *Justin* was only the translation of *Uprauda*, or Upright.

consulship, and of the schools of Athens ; for the introduction of silk-worms into Europe from China ; for the compilation, under the superintendence of the learned *Tribonian*, of the text books of the civil law⁴; and for conquests which restored the empire to some of its former splendour. On the other hand, it was sullied by his marriage with the actress *Theodora*, who had once been the most abandoned of women ; and it was saddened by the outbreak of a dreadful pestilence, by which the air was tainted for very many years. The wars, and the costly buildings of this period⁵, likewise drained the treasury, and burthened the people with a heavy weight of debt and taxation.

By the valour of the Thracian *Belisarius*, Africa was recovered to the empire, and the kingdom of the Vandals overthrown, A.D. 534. This great general next passed over into Italy, where he at length took Ravenna, and broke up the dominion of the Ostrogoths, A.D. 539 ; and thence he marched into the East, which he saved from the victorious arms of *Chosroës*, the Persian king, A.D. 542. Yet he fell into disgrace, owing to the jealousy of *Theodora* ; and but for the influence of his unfaithful and domineering wife *Antonina*, he would have been utterly ruined.

⁴ These books (which are the groundwork of the jurisprudence of many European nations) are the *Code*, or body of laws ; the *Pandects*, or *Digest*, a collection of the most important decisions of the jurists ; the *Novells*, or supplement of fresh laws since the first compilation ; and the *Institutes*, an elementary work for the use of beginners. In the East, the code was supplanted by the *Basilicæ*, or laws of Basil I. (A.D. 877), and his successors.

⁵ Among these was the famous church of St. Sophia (the Holy Wisdom), now a Turkish mosque. The old church had been burnt during the insurrection of the *green* faction, when the emperor had declared for their rivals the *blues* in the chariot races at the Hippodrome, A.D. 532. The revolt ended in the slaughter of 30,000 of the greens.

In the meanwhile, *Totila*, whom the Ostrogoths beyond the Po had made their king, had successfully renewed the war in Italy. Rome itself was taken and pillaged by this barbarian chief, Dec. 546, and Belisarius was now sent against him. But though he defeated Totila, he was soon cramped for want of support; and before two years were over, he was recalled. Totila now recovered Rome, ravaged Sicily, and attacked the coast of Epirus; but was assailed at last by a powerful armament under the renowned eunuch *Narses*, and overpowered and slain, June 552. Narses, after a short struggle, during which he annihilated an army of the Austrasian Franks and Pagan Allemani, put down the kingdom of the Ostrogoths for ever, A.D. 554⁶.

The faithful Belisarius, being once more employed, saved Constantinople from the Bulgarians and their Slavonian allies, A.D. 559. Yet he was afterwards unjustly suspected and disgraced⁷, though his innocence was soon acknowledged, and his honours restored. This was shortly before his death, which in a few months was followed by that of the emperor; who died, Nov. 565, and was succeeded by his nephew JUSTIN II.

A. D. 565. Justin II.

568. Exarchate of Ravenna. *The Lombards invade Italy.*

578. [Tiberius (Justin's son-in-law).]

582. [Maurice (Tiberius' son-in-law).]

593. Gregory the Great saves Rome from the Lombards.

602. [Maurice deposed and murdered.] Phocas.

610. Deposition and death of Phocas. Heraclius.

628. *Heraclius puts an end to the Persian War.*

638. *The Saracens conquer Syria and Palestine.*

640. *The Saracens conquer Egypt.*

⁶ Besides Africa and Italy, part of the east coast of Spain was for a short time recovered in this reign.

⁷ That he was blinded and forced to beg his bread, is a fable.

- A.D. 641. [Constantine III. (son of Heraclius.)]
 [Heraclionas (son of Heraclius I. by his niece Martina).
 He and his mother are mutilated and exiled.]
 [Constans II. (son of Constantine III.)]
668. [Constans II. murdered. Constantine IV., Pogonatus
 (son of Constans).]
685. Justinian II., Rhinotmetus (son of Pogonatus).
695. Justinian II. deposed and mutilated. [Leontius.]
698. [Leontius deposed and mutilated. Apsimar Tiberius.]
The Saracens take Carthage.
705. Justinian II. restored by the Bulgarians ; [Leontius and
 Tiberius put to death.]
711. Justinian II. beheaded. [Philippicus Bardanes.]
713. [Bardanes deposed and blinded. Anastasius II.]
716. [Anastasius deposed (put to death, 719). Theodo-
 sius III.]

About a year after the death of Narses, A.D. 568, Italy⁸ was invaded by the Lombards, a Vandal people, under *Alboin*, and its northern provinces were quickly lost to the empire, and formed into a kingdom of which Pavia became the capital. Yet the Lombards never could get beyond Rome. When they made their first great attempt to take it, A.D. 593, the exarch or governor of Ravenna was unable indeed to hinder them ; but the city was saved by the energy of pope *Gregory the Great*, who may be deemed the founder of the temporal power of the Romish see.

Fresh life seemed, however, to have been infused into the declining empire by HERACLIUS, who had hurled the hideous tyrant and usurper PHOCAS from the throne, Oct. 610⁹. At a time when Constantinople was invested by

⁸ Italy had been just then degraded from its former rank, and placed under the government of the exarchs of Ravenna.

⁹ In reading of the emperors and their families, particularly in this and the following century, one is sickened with accounts of mutilations (such as the cutting off of hands, ears, tongues, and noses), putting out of eyes, poisonings, fratricides, and wholesale murders.

the Avars, and the Persians were masters of the opposite coast of Asia Minor (most of Syria and Egypt being also conquered), he roused himself and marched into the East against *Chosroës II.*; and in a few years, he won a glorious peace, recovering from the Persians the "true cross" and all their conquests, A. D. 628. But at the end of his reign, while he was busied in upholding the Monothelite heresy, he showed himself quite unable to withstand the fearful onslaught of the Arabian Saracens; and shortly before he died, Feb. 641, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been wrested from his feeble hands. Before the end of the century, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Africa were likewise conquered, and Constantinople itself had been besieged seven successive summers¹. Nothing but the divisions which broke out among the Saracens could have saved the Greeks from ruin. Under the wretched successors of Heraclius, the empire had hardly strength enough to struggle with the fierce and warlike Bulgarians on its northern frontier; who not only had tribute paid them, but once actually interfered, A. D. 705, to reinstate JUSTINIAN II., a blood-thirsty monster, who had formerly been deposed for his crimes. This hateful being, whose nose and ears had been cut off, became yet more outrageously cruel than ever: at length his army rose against him, and the dynasty of Heraclius ignobly perished, Dec. 711.

A. D. 717. Leo III. The Saracens besiege Constantinople.

718. Leo repels the Saracens.

726. *Edict of Leo against images.*

728. Luitprand and the Lombards attack Ravenna.

730. The Romans revolt against Leo.

741. Constantine V., Copronymus.

¹ The Saracens were foiled by the newly-invented Greek fire, which, shot through a tube, set fire to their ships and engines, and could not be quenched by water.

- A. D. 752. *Astulphus* conquers the exarchate of Ravenna.
 775. Leo IV. (son of *Copronymus*.)
 780. Constantine VI., *Porphyrogenitus*.
 787. Second Council of Nice; Irene declares in favour of images.
 797. Constantine murdered; the regent Irene reigns alone.
 802. Irene deposed. Nicephorus I. (an Iconoclast.)
 811. Nicephorus slain by the Bulgarians. [*Stauracius* (son of Nicephorus) abdicates. Michael I., *Curopolates*.]
 813. [Michael I. abdicates. Leo V., the Armenian (an Iconoclast).]
 820. [Leo murdered.] Michael II., the Stammerer (an Iconoclast).
 823. The Spanish Saracens take Crete.
 827. The African Saracens take most of Sicily.
 829. [*Theophilus* (son of Michael II.).]
 842. Michael III. (son of *Theophilus*.) *Theodora* restores the worship of images.

The Saracens again besieged Constantinople in the early part of the eighth century; but they, as well as the Bulgarians, were foiled by the ability of *Leo III.*, the *Isaurian*, a shoemaker's son, who had risen to the imperial throne, March 717. They also lost part of Armenia and Syria to his son and successor *Constantine V.* (nick-named *Copronymus*.) The harshness, however, with which Leo, who hated idolatry and saint-worship, enforced his famous edict against the use of images² (A. D. 726), gave birth to civil wars; and in Italy, the Romans (though they had lately helped the exarch to recover Ravenna from the Lombard *Luitprand* who had taken it) revolted under pope *Gregory II.*, A. D. 730, and established their independence. Some years afterwards, the Lombard king *Astulphus* conquered the exarchate of Ravenna, A. D. 752, and only the southern provinces of Italy were left to the empire. In

² By images, *pictures* are to be understood: the Greek Church still forbids the use of statues and figures in relief.

the reign of MICHAEL II., the *Stammerer*³, the Spanish Saracens took Crete, A. D. 823, and the African Saracens got most of Sicily, A. D. 827.

Several of Leo III.'s successors upheld the cause of the *Iconoclasts* (or image-breakers); others, especially the cruel empress IRENE⁴, the first female who wielded the sceptre of the Cæsars, were zealous for idolatry: all were guilty of hateful violence. Irene had the meanness to pay tribute to the Saracens, a degradation for which the worthless NICEPHORUS, who became emperor when she was deposed (Oct. 802), haughtily demanded atonement: the caliph *Harun al Rashid* soon made "the Roman dog" eat his words. Nicephorus, some years after this disgrace, was slain in a disastrous war with the Bulgarians, July 811, and his skull was converted into a drinking cup. As for the controversy about images, it was settled at last, A. D. 842, in favour of idolatry by *Theodora*, an empress who was regent for her son MICHAEL III., the *Drunkard*, and afterwards weakened the empire by her ruthless persecution of the Paulician heretics in Armenia⁵.

A. D. 857. Photius usurps the patriarchate.

867. Murder of Michael III. ; *Basil I.* Photius deposed.

869. Eighth Council of Constantinople ; Bulgaria annexed to the Greek Church.

879. Ninth Council of Constantinople under Photius.

886. Leo VI., the Philosopher (son of Basil). Photius again deposed.

³ When about to be burnt alive for treason, Michael had, by a strange turn of fortune, been taken out of prison, and placed while yet in fetters on the throne.

⁴ This woman, the widow of LEO IV., and guardian of her son CONSTANTINE VI., *Porphyrogenitus*, assembled the second council of Nice, A. D. 787, in which the *Iconoclasts* were condemned. She afterwards deposed her son, and had his eyes put out so barbarously that he died.

⁵ The Paulicians were a sect of *Manichees*, and worshipped the evil principle.

- A.D. 911. [Alexander (Leo's brother, died A.D. 912), and] Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus (Leo's son).
 919. [Romanus I., Lecapenus, becomes the emperor's colleague⁶.]
 944. [Romanus deposed by his son Stephen.]
 945. [The sons of Romanus exiled ; Constantine reigns alone.]
 959. [Romanus II., son of Constantine VII.]
 961. Crete recovered.
 963. Nicephorus Phocas.
 966. Cilicia, Cyprus, and part of Syria recovered.
 968. Nicephorus ravages Mesopotamia.
 969. Nicephorus murdered. John I., Zimisceus.
 976. Basil II. and Constantine VIII. (sons of Romanus II.)
 1019. Basil II. subdues the Bulgarians.
 1025. Death of Basil II.
 1028. Death of Constantine VIII. Romanus III., Argyrus.
 1034. Romanus murdered. Michael IV., the Paphlagonian.
 1041. Michael abdicates ; Michael V., Calaphates (the Caulker), his sister's son.
 1042. Michael V. put to death. Zoë and Theodora. Constantine IX., Monomachus, marries Zoë.
 1043. The Normans establish their power in Italy (take Bari, 1071).
 1050. Death of Zoë.
 1053. Letter of the Patriarch Cerularius.
 1054. *Schism of the East and West*. Theodora again empress.
 1056. [Michael VI. Straticus.]

A new dynasty was now founded by BASIL I., a low-born Macedonian, who caused the drunken Michael to be murdered, Sept. 867, and ably ruled an empire which he had gained by base arts⁷. He reformed abuses, and vigorously repelled the Saracens and Bulgarians, who, however, renewed their attacks in the days of his successors LEO VI., the *Philosopher*, and CONSTANTINE VII.,

⁶ ROMANUS I. also added as colleagues his sons CHRISTOPHER, A.D. 920 (he died, A.D. 931), STEPHEN, and CONSTANTINE, A.D. 928.

⁷ Basil and his son Leo made a fresh compilation of the laws, in sixty books, called *Basilicæ*. See p. 3, note ⁴.

Porphyrogenitus, men who had no talent but for science: the latter of these had also to withstand the inroads of the Russians. But by the valour of the emperors NICEPHORUS PHOCAS, a brave general who usurped a crown which belonged to infants, July 963, and of the dwarfish hero JOHN ZIMISCES, who succeeded on his murder, Dec. 969, all these foes were worsted; Crete, Cyprus, Cilicia, and part of Sicily, of Armenia, and of Northern Syria, with Antioch, were recovered from the Saracens; and Damascus and the rest of Syria subdued, though not retained, and Mesopotamia ravaged. When Zimisces died, Jan. 976, BASIL II. shared with his indolent brother CONSTANTINE VIII. the throne from which they had been excluded when children: he won fresh trophies from the infidels, and overpowered and conquered the Bulgarians, A.D. 1019^a. His long and glorious reign ended Dec. 1025; and in less than three years, his brother (the last male of the family) followed him to the grave.

Of the four next emperors, three were the husbands of Zoë, the contemptible daughter of Constantine VIII. The first of these she murdered, that she might marry her paramour, a low Paphlagonian false-coiner; and when disease and remorse had led this man, MICHAEL IV., to become a monk, she adopted and raised to the throne his nephew MICHAEL V., *Calaphates*^b, a ship-caulker's son. Calaphates soon imprisoned his benefactress; but the young upstart was blinded and deposed by the indignant people, April 1042, and for two months the empire was governed by two old women, Zoë and her sister THEODORA. To please her subjects, Zoë now gave her hand and her crown

^a In one great victory, July 1014, he once took 15,000 of them prisoners. These he cruelly blinded, with the exception of one man in each hundred, who was allowed an eye in mockery, that he might guide his comrades home to their king.

^b *Calaphates* means a Caulker.

to one of her former lovers, CONSTANTINE IX., *Mono-machus*, who, however, neglected his wife for a young mistress : he was succeeded by the aged Theodora, with whose short reign the Macedonian dynasty expired, Aug. 1056. A few years before, the Normans had established themselves in the south of Italy ; and the Greeks now lost ground so rapidly in that country, that their rule was soon confined to the single city of Bari. Its surrender, April 1071, and the subsequent conquest of Sicily, put an end to the last remains of the Western Empire.

Another great event had also fatally weakened the Greeks by depriving them of the aid of their fellow-Christians,—the final separation of the eastern and the western churches. The dispute was of long standing. The pope had never been able to make the Greeks, Egyptians, and Asiatics, bow to his yoke ; and in spite of all his efforts, his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, was in the general council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) acknowledged to have power equal to his over the churches of the East, and to be only inferior in being bishop of a younger city. The patriarch *John the Faster*, in the year 588, even took the title of “ œcumenical,” or universal bishop, to the horror of the pope, who, by his legate Gregory¹, protested against the appellation as blasphemous and antichristian ! The ill feeling between the two sees was increased after the conversion of the Bulgarians, A.D. 865 ; for the Greek and Latin missionaries claimed the jurisdiction over the new church for their respective heads, and the latter were driven out of the country by their opponents. And it so happened that the learned but ambitious *Photius* had lately usurped the patriarchal throne at Constantinople, from which he was afterwards twice deposed ; and that those who withstood him had not scrupled to appeal to the pope,

¹ Afterwards better known as pope Gregory the Great.

whom, however, they themselves, when triumphant, in their turn refused to acknowledge².

Photius now widened the breach between the churches, by charging the Roman Christians with having tampered with the Creed in making the double procession of the Holy Ghost an article of faith³. The dispute was aggravated by other differences as to points of discipline⁴, and in the course of years it ripened into an outrageous feud. At last, when the patriarch *Michael Cerularius* had denounced the customs of the Latin Church in a violent letter to the bishop of *Trani* in Apulia, which was to be shown to pope *Leo IX.*, and had also shut up the Latin churches and monasteries in Constantinople; cardinal *Humbert* and

² Even in the *eighth* council of Constantinople (held by the party which had deposed Photius, A.D. 869, and condemned when he was restored), in spite of the protest of the papal legates, Bulgaria was annexed to the Greek Church. Strange to say, in the year 879, pope *John VIII.* acknowledged Photius, and his legates were present at the *ninth* council of Constantinople, and acquiesced in the Greek doctrine with regard to the Holy Ghost!

³ The second *general* council at Constantinople (called by Theodosius, A.D. 381) had revised the Nicene Creed, and, condemning the heresy of *Macedonius*, had defined the Christian faith with regard to the Holy Ghost. Many years afterwards, A.D. 653, a *national* council in Spain (the *ninth* council of Toledo) added to the Creed the words "filioque" ("and the Son"), and the improvement was universally adopted in the West; but the Greeks were too vain to receive a truth from what they deemed a barbarian source.

⁴ The Greeks differed from the Latins in allowing married men to become priests and deacons, bishops alone being obliged to be unmarried,—this rule was made by the council of Constantinople which met in *Trullo* (the dome of the palace), A.D. 691; in the use of leavened instead of unleavened bread in the Eucharist; and in having a far more rigid rule of fasting. They have also since the schism rejected the later innovations of Rome, such as the belief in purgatory, the extreme doctrine of transubstantiation, and the denial of the sacramental wine to the laity; yet in its practice their church is very corrupt.

the papal legates, relying on the favour of the emperor Constantine Monomachus, retorted with equal violence. Shaking the dust off their feet, they ventured to lay upon the altar of St. Sophia a written deed which excommunicated the Greeks, and delivered their souls to Satan, July 16, 1054.

The patriarch retaliated with fierce anathemas; and though at first moderate men on both sides would not break the outward unity of the Church³, the schism soon became inveterate. From that time, no unbelieving nation which has any pretensions to civilization has become Christian.

SECTION II.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE, FROM THE TIME OF THE COMPLETE SCHISM TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

The Comneni.

A. D. 1057. *Isaac Comnenus.*

1059. Constantine X., Ducas.

1067. Michael VII. (Parapinaces), Andronicus, and Constantine XI. Eudoxia regent.

1068. Romanus IV. Diogenes.

1071. *Diogenes taken prisoner by the Turks.* Michael VII. restored; death of Diogenes.

1078. [Nicephorus III. Botoniates. Nicephorus Bryennius blinded.]

1081. Alexius I., Comnenus. Battle of Durazzo.

1083. Victories of Bohemond. Siege of Larissa.

1084. Bohemond repelled.

³ Several years afterwards, A. D. 1098, *John*, the Greek patriarch of *Antioch*, was even recognised by the Latins in the Holy Land.

- A. D. 1097. Nice regained for Alexius by the Crusaders.
1108. Bohemond again defeated.
1118. John II., Comnenus.
1143. Manuel I., Comnenus.
1180. Alexius II., Comnenus.
1183. Alexius strangled. Andronicus I., Comnenus.
1185. Andronicus murdered.

About a twelvemonth after the death of Theodora, the throne was seized by ISAAC COMNENUS, Aug. 1057. This able prince did not reign long. Lamed by a fall from his horse, he withdrew into a monastery at the end of two years; and on the refusal of his brother *John* to take the crown, he resigned it to CONSTANTINE X., *Ducas*, who, however, showed himself ill-fitted to withstand the Seljukian Turks, a people now become more formidable than the Saracens. *Ducas*, when he died, May 1067, bequeathed the empire to his three sons, and the regency to *Eudoxia*, his widow, who was a woman of much talent and energy. But the regent fell in love with ROMANUS DIOGENES, whom she had arrested and doomed to death for plotting against the government; and having cunningly got out of the hands of the patriarch the written promise which she had made her late husband never to marry again⁶, she became the wife of the brave and handsome rebel, and raised him to the purple, Jan. 1068.

Diogenes soon excluded *Eudoxia* and her children from all share of power, and also distinguished himself by his victories over the Seljukian Turks. He recovered many of the conquests which they had made of late; but in his third campaign, he was defeated in Armenia and taken prisoner, Aug. 1071, the disorder of the rout being increased by the treachery of *Andronicus*, a prince of the royal blood. This misfortune was the signal of a rebel-

⁶ She made the patriarch believe that she wanted to marry a kinsman of his.

lion at home. Eudoxia was now shut up in a convent; MICHAEL VII., the eldest of her sons, was declared sole emperor; and Diogenes, whom the victorious sultan *Alp Arslan* had generously released, was seized as he was returning, blinded, and sent into a monastery to die.

About seven years afterwards, Michael, unable to keep his throne, was glad to become a monk. Worthless usurpers now strove for a sceptre which none of them could keep, until ALEXIUS COMNENUS claimed the honours which John, his father, had refused, and had himself crowned at Constantinople, April 1081. He, and his gallant son JOHN II. (*Calo-Johannes*), and also his grandson MANUEL I., ruled with vigour. The Seljukian Turks, whom the weakness and divisions of the Greeks had enabled to form a kingdom in Asia Minor, were repeatedly defeated, Nice, their capital, and most of the sea-coast being regained; the Normans of Italy were checked⁷; the Patzinaces (*Petschenegens*), Cumanes, and other Tartar races in the north, who had long been the scourge of the empire, were quelled. On the death of Manuel, Sept. 1180, his youthful son ALEXIUS II. succeeded, who exactly three years afterwards was deposed and strangled by his father's cousin ANDRONICUS I. This high-spirited, but hypocritical and eccentric tyrant, was in his turn overthrown when he tried to take away the life of the popular *Isaac Angelus*, Sept. 1185; and for several days he was tortured by the rabble, and

⁷ Alexius had a hard struggle with the Italian Normans. He and his large army were routed at Durazzo by much inferior numbers under *Robert Guiscard*, the renowned duke of Apulia, Oct. 1081; and in 1083, he was twice beaten by Bohemond (the son of Guiscard), who now laid siege to Larissa, but was obliged to retreat with loss, the Turks having come to the aid of Alexius. Bohemond, after he had become prince of Antioch during the first crusade, (at which time, Alexius had also contrived to recover Nice from the Seljukian Turks,) renewed his aggressions, and was again defeated, A. D. 1108.

then he was taken to the theatre and hanged up by the feet till he died.

The Angeli and the Latin Emperors.

- A. D. 1185. Isaac II., Angelus.
- 1186. Bulgaria revolts. Conrad of Montferrat aids Isaac Angelus.
- 1191. The Greeks lose Cyprus.
- 1195. Isaac Angelus deposed. Alexius III., Comnenus.
- 1203. The Latin Crusaders restore Isaac Angelus and Alexius IV.
- 1204. Nicholas Canabus. Alexius V. Murzuffle. Death of Isaac II. and of Alexius IV. *Constantinople taken by the Latins.* Baldwin I., Latin emperor.
- 1205. Baldwin I. taken prisoner by the Bulgarians.
- 1206. Henry I., Latin emperor. Theodore I., Lascaris, emperor at Nice. The Comneni established at Trebizond and Epirus.
- 1216. Peter of Courtenay, Latin emperor.
- 1217. Peter of Courtenay taken prisoner.
- 1221. Robert I., of Courtenay, Latin emperor.
- 1222. John III., Ducas Vataces, emperor at Nice.
- 1228. Robert II., of Courtenay, Latin emperor.
- 1237. Death of John de Brienne.
- 1255. Theodore II., Lascaris, emperor at Nice.
- 1259. John IV., Lascaris, emperor at Nice. Michael VIII., Palæologus, emperor at Nice.
- 1261. *The Greeks recover Constantinople.* John Lascaris blinded.

ISAAC ANGELUS (whose grandfather *Constantine*, the son of Diogenes and Eudoxia, had married *Theodora*, the daughter of Alexius Comnenus) had nothing but his high birth to recommend him. In his reign, Bulgaria revolted from the Greeks, A. D. 1186^{*}; and he would the same year have fallen into the hands of some rebels, who besieged

^{*} The Greeks also lost Cyprus, where *Isaac Comnenus*, who had usurped the sovereignty of the island during the late reign, was deposed by Richard I. of England, A. D. 1191.

him in his capital, but for the valour of a stranger, who became his son-in-law⁹. At length, being hated for his indolence and his vices, he was blinded and cast into a dungeon by his brother, who now reigned as ALEXIUS III., *Comnenus*, April 1195. The latter, equally worthless, left all the cares of government to his wife, and ended by fleeing from Constantinople, July 1203, when the city was taken by the French and Italian crusaders, who had been led to take the part of the unhappy Isaac Angelus.

Isaac was now restored; but his profligate son and colleague ALEXIUS IV. had the real power. Both were hated as men who were willing to sell their church and country to the insolent Latins; and it was only by sacrilege and violence that they could raise the money which was owing to their allies. The exasperation of the people made them dread to pay the tribute: the delay gave rise to a war with the foreigners; the discontent of the Greeks broke out in a sedition, Jan. 1204, and a young man, named NICHOLAS CANABUS, was raised to a throne which hardly any one would take. In a few days, however, the new emperor was deposed by the bold and high-born ALEXIUS DUCAS. Isaac Angelus died of fright; and Alexius IV. was shut up in prison, where he was soon afterwards strangled, when the crusaders had come in arms and demanded his restoration.

Notwithstanding the valour of *Murzufle*, as the usurper was called, from the thickness of his eyebrows, Constantinople was taken and ruthlessly sacked by the enraged Latins, April 1204. *Murzufle* escaped, but was brought back, and flung headlong down from the top of a lofty pillar. The conquerors chose one of their leaders, BALDWIN, count of *Flanders*, emperor of the East; they also

⁹ Conrad, the famous Marquis of Montferrat, who married his daughter *Theodora*.

made a Latin patriarch, and professed to re-unite the two churches¹. But the new emperor got little more than Thrace and Mæsia, and two of the eight quarters of the half-burnt city. Three-eighths of the capital, and about half of the remaining territory, were given to the Venetians, and the other adventurers shared the rest². Venice long kept Candia, and her possessions in the Morea and on the coast of Asia Minor.

The Greeks soon tried to shake off the Latin yoke; and the emperors of Nice, the dukes of Trebizond, and the despots of Epirus³, all of whom assumed the imperial title, started up and established themselves in opposition to the invaders. Baldwin himself was taken prisoner by their allies the Bulgarians at Adrianople, April 1205, and died in captivity. The reign of HENRY of Hainault, his brother, was more fortunate; but his brother-in-law, PETER of Courtenay, who was next chosen to the empire,

¹ One or two of the Latin patriarchs were quite as much inclined as the Greeks themselves to set up their claims against the pope.

² Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, (who had agreed to sell Candia to the Venetians,) had Thessaly and Macedon, which, however, were taken from his younger son *Demetrius* by the despot of Epirus. Nice and Bithynia were given to Lewis, Count of Blois, who soon lost his life against the Bulgarians at Adrianople. Other duchies and principalities, such as Athens and Achaia, rewarded some of the lesser chieftains.

³ *Alexius* and *David Comnenus* seized Trebizond, and *Michael Angelus Comnenus* Epirus. THEODORE LASCARIS, the son-in-law of the fugitive Alexius IV., (whom he shut up in a monastery,) took Nice, A.D. 1206, and declared himself emperor of the East. He was succeeded, A.D. 1222, by his daughter's husband, JOHN III., *Ducas Vataces*, a valiant prince, who greatly lessened the dominions of the Latin emperors. Vataces was followed by his able son, THEODORE II., *Lascaris*, and then by his youthful grandson, JOHN IV., *Lascaris*, who was blinded by Michael Palæologus, Dec. 1261. Michael Palæologus had first become emperor two years before, after having been regent a few months.

(A.D. 1216,) soon met with the same fate, having fallen into the hands of *Theodore Angelus*, the sovereign of Thessaly and Epirus. Peter's younger sons, ROBERT II. and BALDWIN II., successively lost ground before the Greeks of Nice, who, at length, surprised Constantinople in the night, July 1261, and put an end to the rule of the Latins. Baldwin escaped, and died in Italy.

The Palæologi.

- A. D. 1261. *Michael VIII., Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople.*
- 1274. Second Council of Lyons.
- 1281. Michael Palæologus excommunicated.
- 1282. Andronicus II.
- 1288. Andronicus III.
- 1333. The Turks take Nice.
- 1341. John V. (John Palæologus I.), and John VI., Cantacuzenus.
- 1347. Cantacuzenus becomes master of Constantinople.
- 1352. The Genoese defeat the Venetian fleet at Constantinople.
- 1355. Cantacuzenus abdicates.
- 1359. The Turks take Gallipoli.
- 1361. The Turks take Adrianople.
- 1375. Andronicus imprisons his father.
- 1377. John Palæologus I. is restored by the Turks.
- 1391. Manuel II., Palæologus. Constantinople besieged by Sultan Bajazet.
- 1397. Bajazet again besieges Constantinople.
- 1399. Manuel takes John VII. as his colleague.
- 1402. *Battle of Angora.*
- 1423. Amurath II. besieges Constantinople.
- 1425. John VIII. (John Palæologus II.)
- 1439. *Council of Florence.*
- 1443. Demetrius and the Turks besiege Constantinople.
- 1448. Constantine XI., Palæologus.
- 1453. *The Turks take Constantinople; Fall of the Eastern Empire.*
- 1458. Corinth and Athens reduced.
- 1462. Fall of Trebizond. Death of David Comnenus.

MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, who was now emperor at Constantinople, dreading another Latin crusade, forced some

of the bishops to join with him in acknowledging the papal supremacy; and at the second council of Lyons, July 1274, the two churches were reconciled. But this hollow union gave him no strength. His subjects broke out into revolts; and he was also threatened with a war from Italy⁴, when at last the pope mistrusted and excommunicated him. On his death, Dec. 1282, the Greeks openly disowned his acts, and his son, ANDRONICUS II., (a prince who kept his brother *Constantine* for sixteen years in an iron cage,) even denied him Christian burial.

This emperor, in his old age, was shut up in a room of his palace, May 1328, by his grandson ANDRONICUS III., in whose reign Nice was taken by the Ottoman Turks. In the days of Andronicus's vile son, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS I., who was forced for some years to acknowledge a rival emperor in his guardian JOHN CANTACUZENUS⁵; these warlike barbarians crossed over into Europe, established themselves at Adrianople, and seized upon most of what was still left of the empire. The feeble emperor became their tributary, and was restored by them to his throne, when he had at length escaped out of the hands of his eldest son ANDRONICUS, whom he had imprisoned and deprived of one of his eyes for rebellion, but the Genoese had rescued. Shortly before his death, (in the year 1391,)

⁴ Charles of Anjou, the new French king of Naples, and the Venetians were on the point of attacking him. He, therefore, fomented the discontents in Charles's kingdom, which give birth to the Sicilian vespers. See Part V.

⁵ Cantacuzene once seized Constantinople. So weak had the empire become, that the traders of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Barcelona, who now monopolised its old commercial wealth, bearded the emperor in his own capital. When Cantacuzene's allies, the Venetians, were beaten in a great sea-fight by the Genoese, under the very walls of Constantinople, Feb. 1352, he was obliged to exclude them from his dominions. The suburb of Galata, near Constantinople, was the possession of the Genoese.

he had begun to strengthen Constantinople with fresh works ; but these were thrown down at the bidding of his imperious foes, who held his second son *Manuel* as a hostage. *MANUEL* was driven by distress to visit the courts of Europe as a suppliant for aid⁶ : his journey was fruitless. Yet though he was thrice besieged in his capital, the enemy was called away every time by troubles and dangers which had arisen elsewhere : the great defeat of the Turks by the Moguls at Angora, July 1402, alone preserved the rule of the Greeks for fifty years more.

Manuel was succeeded, July 1425, by his son *JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II.*, who tried in vain to get the help of the Western Christians by making the Greeks submit to the Pope at the council of Florence, July 1439 : the archbishop of *Ephesus*, one of the delegates, would not sign the act of union, and his countrymen at home joined him in disowning a compact made from political motives. Four years afterwards, *John* had to defend his capital against his own brother *Demetrius* and his Turkish allies. He died childless, Oct. 1448, and his crown was given to his brother *CONSTANTINE PALÆOLOGUS*, in whose reign the imperial city was besieged for the last time. It was taken by the infidels, May 29, 1453, after a short but brave resistance, at the end of which the emperor nobly died⁷.

Thus fell an empire, which, though often mangled and dismembered, had prolonged its base existence for ages. It had done its work : it had kept alive for better times the seeds of Greek learning, which otherwise would have been trodden under hoof and crushed by the barbarians.

⁶ The year before, Dec. 1399, he had been forced by the Turks to acknowledge his rival *John*, the son of *Andronicus*, as his colleague, which he did for about three years.

⁷ *Demetrius* and his brother *Thomas* held out in the Peloponnesus until Corinth and Athens were reduced, A. D. 1458. The empire of Trebizond was also overthrown, and *David Comnenus*, its last sovereign, put to death at Constantinople in the year 1462.

SECTION III.

MAHOMET AND THE SARACENS.

A. D. 570. Birth of Mahomet.

609. Pretended mission of Mahomet.

612. Mahomet publicly announces his mission.

622. *The Hegira.*

630. Submission of Mecca. Syria fruitlessly invaded.

632. *Death of Mahomet.* Overthrow of Moseilama.

MAHOMET (or *Mohammed*) the false prophet of the Saracens^s, was sprung from the powerful tribe of the Khoreish, and belonged to the princely family of Hashem, the keepers of the *Caaba* or temple of Mecca, a shrine to which the Arabs have always been wont to make pilgrimages. His father died when he was young, and he was so poor that he became the camel-driver, or factor, of a rich widow named *Cadijah*: this woman, though much older than himself, he afterwards married. Having thus risen in life, he thought of soaring higher. Filled with deep hatred against the idolatry and superstition which disgraced all the religions of his country, he took upon himself to unite the sects and tribes of Arabia in the simple creed of Islâm, that "There is only one God, and Mahomet is the Apostle of God."

Fanaticism soon allies itself with falsehood. He gave out to his wife and a few of his friends, A.D. 609, being

^s The inhabitants of Arabia, part of which was divided into small states, and part, being a parched wilderness, was the abode of wandering tribes, whose wealth was their camels and fine horses, and the ill-gotten gains of robbery and petty warfare. Their religions were various. Besides Jews, heretic Christians, Magians, and Sabians (the worshippers of planetary deities), there were many who held the old religion of the country, and gave idolatrous reverence to the sun and moon and to the stars.

then about forty years of age, that the angel Gabriel had revealed to him from heaven the doctrines, laws, and institutions which he afterwards slowly imparted to the world in the unconnected chapters of the Koran⁹; and at the end of three years, he publicly announced his mission at Mecca. His converts were not many. He was called upon to work miracles by his sneering foes; and after the death of his uncle *Abu Taleb*, the priestly chief of the city, who disbelieved but protected him, he was forced to flee for his life, Friday, July 16, A. D. 622 (the Mahometan era of the *Hegira* or Flight). But he was welcomed at Medina as a prince and a prophet: adventurers flocked to his standard; and laying aside the mild language which he had used in the days of his weakness, he now began to establish his religion by the sword, death or tribute being the penalty of unbelief. His daring genius, and the zeal of followers whose hearts were steeled against fear by the doctrine of fatalism, and whose souls were kindled by the promised rewards of paradise, won him victory after victory. Arabia was conquered; Mecca itself had to throw open its gates, Jan. 630; and Syria would have been overrun, had not his army been worn out by its march through the

⁹ This book is a master-piece of Arabic; but very little of its beauty (unlike that of our Scriptures) will stand the test of translation.—The chief usages of Islamism are circumcision; prayer five times a day, and certain ablutions; the pilgrimage to Mecca; the observance of Friday as a day of worship; and the fast of the month Ramadan, during which nothing is eaten or drunk in the day-time. Almsgiving, and abstinence from pork, wine, strong drink, and from blood, are also strictly enjoined; but the true believer is allowed four wives, (the prophet himself had seventeen after *Cadijah* was dead,) and was taught to look forward to the delights of a sensual paradise. The unity of God, predestination, and retribution on the judgment day, are the leading doctrines of a faith which professed to be the restoration of the true religion as originally taught by Abraham, Moses, and Christ.

deserts in the heats of summer, while he had to acknowledge that the angel Gabriel had not guided him.

His death, June 632, at a time when *Moseilama*, a rival prophet, had started up in Nedsjed, did not blight the fortunes of his sect. It encouraged the new impostor to take up arms; but though victorious at first, even against *Caled*, already known as "the Sword of God," in the next battle, he was defeated and slain.

The Four Perfect Caliphs.

- A.D. 632. Abubeker caliph. *Era of Isdegerd.* Syria invaded; Persia attacked.
- 634. Caled takes Damascus. *Omar caliph.*
- 636. Said defeats the Persians at Cadesia, and conquers Irak. Caled defeats the Greeks in Syria.
- 638. *The Saracens take Jerusalem; Syria conquered.*
- 640. *Amru takes Alexandria; Egypt conquered.*
- 642. *Battle of Nohavend; Persia conquered.*
- 644. Murder of Omar; Othman caliph.
- 647. Africa invaded.
- 648. Cyprus taken.
- 651. Death of Isdegerd; final conquest of Persia.
- 653. Rhodes taken.
- 656. Murder of Othman; Ali caliph. Day of the Camel.
- 660. Moawiyah claims the caliphate.
- 661. *Murder of Ali.* Hassan abdicates.
- 680. *Death of Hossein.*

ABUBEKER, the companion of Mahomet's flight, and the father of his young wife *Ayesha*, had been acknowledged by the Moslems as his Caliph or Successor. He followed in his master's steps¹. While Persia, in the history of which the accession of the young king *Isdegerd* now forms

¹ The four first, or "perfect" caliphs lived as simply as Mahomet himself. The prophet mended his own shoes and coarse woollen garments, milked the ewes, and kindled his fire. Dates and water were his food on common days.

an era, had in the inroad of Caled on its border a foretaste of the doom which awaited it; war was again proclaimed against the unbelievers in Syria, and there also the frantic, but faithful and ill-used Caled won high renown. On the day that Damascus had been taken, Abubeker died at Medina, July 634, having first secured the caliphate for the friend to whom he had chiefly owed his own election.

OMAR's reign was made illustrious by the wonderful achievements of his generals. The holy city of Jerusalem², Aleppo, Antioch, and the rest of Syria, were conquered from the Greeks; the pride of Persia was brought low by the rout at Cadesia, the loss of Irak, the sack of Madyan or Ctesiphon, and when the prowess of *Said* had driven Isdegerd out of his kingdom in despair, the last mighty effort of its people was crushed by the "victory of victories" at Nohavend³; Babylon in Egypt (opposite Memphis), Alexandria, of which the library was now destroyed, and the whole of the rich province which had once been the granary of Rome, also yielded to the arms and the policy of *Amru*, who was welcomed as a deliverer by the

² As the patriarch *Sophronius* would deliver the city only into the hands of the caliph, Omar himself came like a pilgrim to receive it. Toleration (clogged, however, with tribute and humiliating marks of subjection) was granted to the Christians.

³ The *Parthian* monarchy of the ARSACIDÆ (founded by *Arsoes*, who revolted from the Seleucidæ, B.C. 256) was overthrown, A.D. 226, by the father of the famous *Sapor*, *Artaxerxes* or *Ardschir*, who established the Persian dynasty of the SASSANIDES. The Persians were Magians, the disciples of *Zoroaster*, and they deified the good and evil principle: in the sixth century, their king *Choeroës I.*, *Nurshirvan* (the Just), bitterly persecuted the Christians. The Magians were persecuted in their turn by their Moslem conquerors; yet under the names of Guebres or Fire-Worshippers, and Parsees, a remnant of them is still left.

native Copts, whom the Greeks had cruelly persecuted for their Eutychian errors. In the height of this prosperity, Omar was stabbed in the mosque at Medina by a discontented slave, Nov. 644.

Under the rule of the aged OTHMAN, the third caliph, Africa or Barbary was ravaged, though not conquered; Cyprus and Rhodes were reduced; the remnants of the Persian empire were gained when Isdegerd had been slain by rebels; and the rule of the Saracens in the East was extended to the Oxus. But he had the presumption to put himself in the highest seat of the prophet's pulpit, instead of sitting on one of the steps; his self seeking, and his partiality to his friends and kinsmen, caused deep discontent. Revolts broke out, which were fomented by the arts of the "Mother of the Faithful," the mischief-making Ayesha; and the unhappy caliph was besieged in his palace, and murdered, June 656.

ALI, the son of Abu Taleb and the cousin and son-in-law of Mahomet⁴, now obtained a dignity which had been long withheld from him. The reign of this brave and eloquent enthusiast was a stormy one. When he tried to remove the governors of provinces who were disaffected to him, they gave out that he was not to be obeyed so long as the death of Othman was unavenged. The bloody shirt of the murdered caliph was hung up over the pulpit of Damascus; and thousands of misguided Saracens rose in arms against Ali, whose old enemy Ayesha was now shameless enough to put herself at the head of the lovers of justice. But under the walls of Bussora, Nov. 656, Ali won a decisive victory: the rebel chiefs were slain, and the Mother of the Faithful was taken prisoner, and

⁴ He had married Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet and Cadijah. The rest of Mahomet's children died in infancy.

respectfully sent home to Medina⁵. More dangerous yet were Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, and *Moawiyah*, the conqueror of Rhodes and the idol of the Syrian army, the latter of whom at length declared himself caliph a few years afterwards. In the course of one hundred and ten days, ninety battles and skirmishes were fought; in the last of which, when *Moawiyah* was about to be overpowered, the Koran was, by the advice of Amru, hoisted on the points of the lances of his soldiers, and the cry was raised that the holy book was to decide all differences. Ali, who had already challenged his rival to a single combat in vain, was unwillingly made to sheathe his sword by the fanaticism of his followers; and during the negotiation, his cunning foes gained strength. Three crazed zealots of *Moawiyah's* faction now resolved to avenge the blood of their fallen friends, and to restore peace among the Moslems, by murdering not only their enemy, but their own chiefs; and they each sallied forth with a poisoned dagger to seek their victim. Amru escaped, and *Moawiyah* was wounded only; but the stab which Ali received in the mosque of Cufa, Jan. 661, brought on death.

The mild *Hassan*, Ali's eldest son, was then acknowledged as caliph by the people of Cufa. He soon gave up the contest, and withdrew into private life: he was at last poisoned by a worthless wife⁶. After the death of *Moawiyah*, the vices of his weak successor *Yezid* stirred up the men of Irak and Cufa to engage to stand by *Hossein*, the younger son of Ali. But they were wanting to their word; and when *Hossein* had crossed the desert with

⁵ The battle was called the "*Day of the Camel*." Ayesha's partisans rallied round the camel on which she rode in a litter, and there was a desperate struggle before the animal was slain and the rebels were overpowered.

⁶ *Yezid*, *Moawiyah's* vile heir, by pretending to be in love with this woman, got her to do the deed.

seventy-two faithful followers to join them, he found himself surrounded by the cavalry of his enemies, and nothing left him but the choice of captivity or death. With a courage worthy of Leonidas, Hossein met his doom. His comrades, and the generous *Harro*, who with thirty brave men had gone over to share their fate, fought like lions; and when the last of them had fallen, the son of Ali, weary, wounded, and heart-broken, feebly threw himself into the midst of his foes, and died mangled by their lances and swords, Oct. 680. When his head was taken to Cufa, the brutal governor of the city struck it on the mouth with a cane: "Alas!" said an aged Saracen, "on those lips have I seen the lips of the Apostle of God."

The tragical fate of Ali and his sons has caused a schism among the infidels, who to this day are divided into the Sunnites and the Shiahs, the sect of Omar and the sect of Ali⁷. The sultan of the Ottoman Turks is now at the head of one party; the shah of Persia, of the other.

The Omniades.

- A. D. 661. *The hereditary dynasty of the Omniades.*
- 665. The Saracens again invade Africa.
- 672. The siege of Constantinople begun.
- 678. The siege of Constantinople raised.
- 698. *The Saracens take Carthage.*
- 705. Walid I. ascends the throne.
- 710. Transoxiana conquered by the Saracens.
- 711. *Battle of Xeres; conquest of Spain.*
- 714. Musa disgraced.
- 717. Constantinople again besieged.
- 718. Leo III. defeats the Saracens.
- 721. Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, defeats the Saracens.
- 725. The Saracens conquer Narbonnese Gaul.
- 732. The Saracens burst upon France. *Battle of Tours.*
- 750. The Saracens are driven out of Languedoc and Provence.

⁷ The sect of Ali deem the three first caliphs to have been usurpers. All Moslems, however, look with great veneration upon the descendants of Ali and Fatima, who are exceedingly numerous.

MOAWIYAH made the caliphate hereditary in the family of the OMMIADES (so named from *Ommia*, his great-grandfather⁸), and removed the seat of government from Medina to Damascus. His generals laid siege in vain to Constantinople for seven successive summers. The Saracens renewed the attempt about forty years afterwards, A.D. 717; but the Greek emperor Leo III. bravely withstood them. They had, however, again invaded Africa, A.D. 665, being encouraged by the natives, who were burthened with heavy taxes, and still suffered from the intolerance of the Greeks⁹. The interior of the country was gradually conquered; and when Carthage had fallen, A.D. 698, the northern coasts were not able to hold out much longer. Armenia and part of Asia Minor were also brought under the rule of the caliphs.

The reign of WALID (which began Oct. 705, and ended Feb. 715) was especially a period of conquest. The regions beyond the Oxus to the Jaxartes and the Caspian were then subdued; the great emporium of Samarcand¹ was taken; the Turkish and Tartar races were humbled, and even the emperor of China once paid tribute. In the West, the tide of Saracenic invasion burst also upon Europe, and the faith of the cross seemed about to be swept away from the earth.

For when *Roderic*, the last of the Visigothic kings of Spain, had been raised to the throne, A.D. 710, the hateful *Witika* having been deposed and blinded; *Musa*, the

⁸ Moawiyah was the son of *Abu Sophian* (the successor of Abu Taleb), who for some time headed the Khoreish against Mahomet.

⁹ The Donatists, a fierce and persecuted sect, had already aided the Vandal invaders in former days.

¹ Here the Arabians learned the art of making paper, which, as well as the invention of gunpowder, they at length brought into Europe.

Saracen governor of Africa, was invited by traitors² to come over and seize a land which was weakened by dissensions, and of which the strongholds had been dismantled by the jealousy of tyrants who feared their own subjects. A body of Saracens forthwith crossed the straits which divide Africa from Spain, and took up a strong position on the rock of Calpe, one of the Pillars of Hercules, since called Gibraltar³; and the prowess of *Tarik Abenzara*, who became their leader, soon roused Roderic to gather together a vast army and risk a battle at Xeres de la Frontera, A. D. 711. The Christians were routed⁴: Roderic fled for his life, and was drowned in the waters of the Guadalquivir. Tarik, zealously aided by the persecuted Jews of Spain, now rapidly advanced. Toledo itself, the capital of the Visigothic kings, had capitulated, when Musa, fired with jealousy, came to complete the conquest of the peninsula: he insulted Tarik by a blow from his whip, and threw him into prison.

When in a few months the whole of Spain, with the exception of some inaccessible mountain districts, had yielded; Musa formed the bold plan of crossing the Pyrenees, overrunning Europe, and sweeping away the Eastern Empire. But the wrongs done to the unhappy Spaniards, and the complaints of Tarik, had reached the ears of the caliph at Damascus: Musa was recalled to stand his trial, and Christendom was saved. Publicly scourged in his turn, and heavily fined for his rapacity, he was sent to end

² Musa is said to have been invited by count *Julian*, who governed Andalusia and Ceuta, and had upheld the cause of the sons of Witika, with whom he was allied by marriage.—The story of his daughter *Florinda*, called "*la Cava*" (the Wicked), having been dishonoured by king Roderic, is probably a fable.

³ *Gabel al Tarik* (Tarik's Mount).

⁴ Owing, it is said, to the treachery of *Oppas*, Archbishop of Seville and Toledo, the brother of the deposed Witika.

his days in Mecca; and before long, the head of one of his murdered sons was brought to him, to heighten his wretchedness.

His project was soon revived. Though checked for a while by the valour of *Eudes* (the duke or king of Aquitaine), the Saracens succeeded in conquering Narbonne and modern Languedoc, A.D. 725; and some years afterwards, the daring *Abdal-rahman*, who had the rule over Spain, defeated Eudes with great slaughter, and carried his victorious arms to the Loire, Aquitaine and the kingdom of Burgundy as far as Lyons and Besançon being overspread by his troops. But here the tide of conquest was doomed to stop. Eudes was aided by *Charles Martel*, a chieftain then all-powerful among the Franks; and in the plains between Tours and Poitiers, Abdal-rahman lost his life, Oct. 732, the Saracen host was driven back, and Christian Europe was again saved. About twenty-five years afterwards, A.D. 759, the Moslems were altogether expelled from Provence and Languedoc by the Franks.

The Saracens subsequently became masters of Crete, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; but being weakened by division, they gradually lost all their conquests in Europe⁵.

⁵ Crete, conquered by the Saracens of Spain, A.D. 823, was lost A.D. 961. A Saracen chief called *Lanza Ancisa* seized Corsica in the year 810; and about the same time, Sardinia was reduced. (The Sards, however, recovered their independence, and were governed by their own judges until the end of the ninth century, when they again yielded to the Saracens.) By the efforts of the Pisans and Genoese, the dynasty of Ancisa was driven out of Corsica (towards the end of the tenth century), and Sardinia retaken (A.D. 1104). The African Saracens conquered Sicily and part of Magna Græcia, A.D. 827, 870: in the eleventh century, they were dislodged by the Normans. From Sicily, the Saracens had sailed up the Tiber, and plundered the suburbs of Rome, A.D. 846; but when they made a fresh attempt against the city, it was foiled by the energy of *Leo IV.*, who became pope in 847.

The Divided Caliphate; Rise of the Abbasides.

A. D. 748. Death of Ildrahim.

750. Death of Marwan II. ; *Abul Abbas caliph.*

Dynasty of the Abbasides.

754. Almansor caliph.

762. Almansor builds Bagdad.

775. Death of Almansor.

786. *Harun al Rashid caliph.*

809. Death of Harun al Rashid.

813. Almamon caliph. Age of Arabian learning.

833. Motasem succeeds Almamon.

The degeneracy of several of Moawiyah's successors had weakened the attachment of the Saracens to a family which was stained with the blood of the descendants of the prophet; and notwithstanding the courage and energy of MARWAN II., who himself had gained the throne by violence, the *white*⁶ dynasty of the Ommiades had to give way before the *black* banner of the race of Hashim (the **ABBASIDES**, sprung from *Abbas*, an uncle of Mahomet). *Ildrahim*, the head of the house, was overpowered and put to death; but when *Abul Abbas*, his brother, was about to be crushed in his turn, an accident caused the rout of the caliph's army⁷. Marwan was obliged to flee to Egypt, and there he lost his life, Feb. 750.

ABUL ABBAS, called *Saffah* (the Bloody), cruelly tracked out the members of the fallen family, and likewise butchered hundreds of thousands of their adherents. He died of the small pox, June 754, and was succeeded by his brother **ALMANSOR**, who destroyed Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and built Bagdad, the magnificent capital of the Abbasides.

⁶ *Green* was the colour of Mahomet and his family.

⁷ Marwan had been obliged to get down from his camel; the beast took fright and ran off, spreading panic among the soldiers, who thought that their chief was dead. This caliph, the thirteenth of the Ommiades, was called "*the As*," for his valour, by the Mesopotamians, who have a fine breed of *asses*.

Learning was now encouraged. The Saracens were incapable of appreciating the poets, historians, and orators of the Greeks; but they eagerly translated works on science, and in astronomy, chemistry, and medicine, soon surpassed their teachers¹. Almansor's famous grandson, the caliph HARUN AL RASHID², who obliged the emperor of the East to pay him tribute, was also a distinguished patron of science. He died, March 809, and was succeeded by three of his sons in their turn.

ALMAMON¹, the second of these, who came to the throne Sept. 813, was even a greater friend to learning. With his brilliant reign ended all the glory of the Abbasides, who were in the best of times a race of cruel and sensual tyrants. MOTASEM, the surviving brother, who became caliph, Aug. 833, thought to overawe the turbulent populace of Bagdad, by purchasing a number of Turkish slaves, and forming them into a body guard. The remedy became worse than the disease, and his wretched successors held their tenure of life and power at the will of insolent prætorians.

Caliphate of the West.

- A. D. 756. *Abdal-rahman founds the Caliphate of the West.*
- 1038. *The Caliphate of the West broken up into small states.*
- 1087. *Defeat of the Castillians at Badajoz.*
- 1091. *Yusuf conquers the Mahometan States.*
- Rule of the Moorish Almoravides in Spain.*

¹ We are indebted to the Saracens for algebra and the Arabic numerals. These last were invented in India.

² He succeeded an elder brother, Sept. 786. He and his vizir *Giaffar* (whom, with all the rest of the illustrious family of the *Barmeicides*, he at length cruelly put to death) are well known to the readers of the *Arabian Nights*.

¹ The same feeling which led Moawiyah's grandson, MOAWIYAH II., to resign the caliphate, made Almamon attempt to secure the succession to the representatives of Ali. A rebellion was the consequence.

- A. D. 1157. The Almohades overpower the Almoravides in Spain.
 1212. *Defeat of the Moors at Tolosa;—decline of the Almohades.*
 1492. *Granada taken from the Moors.*

The caliphate had now been for some time divided. As early as the reign of Almansor, ABDAL-RAHMAN, a youth of the proscribed race of the Ommiades, having escaped into Africa, had been invited over into Spain by malcontents, and proclaimed king, March 756. Thus was established the Caliphate of the West, of which Cordova, the capital, became a renowned seat of arts and learning, while the industry of the Mahometans made the south of Spain one of the richest and most civilized countries of Europe.

Owing to the weakness and the vices of the last princes of this dynasty, it fell, A. D. 1038; and the Spanish Saracens, whose power had already been undermined by revolts, and much narrowed by the loss of their northern provinces, were now split into a number of rival kingdoms². On the other hand, the petty communities founded by the Christian outlaws who had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias, had by amalgamation and conquest swollen into powerful states; so that, before long, the infidels of Seville were driven to call upon their brethren the Moors of Africa for aid. *Yusuf* the Almoravide, the founder of Morocco, came over and enabled them to defeat the king of Castile at Badajoz, Dec. 1087; but in less than four years, not only his allies but most of the Mahometans in Spain were forced to submit to his rule. About the middle of the next century, the ALMORAVIDES were overthrown by the ALMOHADES, a dynasty which at one time threatened to conquer the whole peninsula: its power was broken by the great victory gained by the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, at

² Such as Cordova, Toledo, Lisbon, Seville, Valentia, Murcia, and the Balearic isles. There were almost as many kingdoms as there were large cities.

Tolosa, July 1212, a blow from which the Moors never recovered. The rule of the Almohades soon became limited to Africa; and Arabian Spain was again divided into several states which, one after the other, were conquered by the Christians. The kingdom of Granada was the last which held out. It was taken from the Moors, Jan. 1492, and the Spaniards once more became a nation, the crowns of Arragon and Castile having lately been united by marriage.

Caliphate of Egypt.

- A. D. 782. The Edrisites rule in Mauritania and Numidia.
- 812. Rise of the Aglabite dynasty in Libya.
- 908. Fall of the Edrisites.
- 909. Mahomet Obeidollah declares himself Mihidi.
- 912. Fall of the Aglabites.
- 969. *Moez becomes the first Fatimite caliph of Egypt.*
- 972. Grand Cairo built.
- 1061. Rise of the Almoravides.
- 1146. The Almohades overthrow the Almoravides in Africa.
- 1164. Shawer restored by Shirakoh.
- 1169. Shawer put to death by Shirakoh. Saladin ruler of Egypt.
- 1171. *Adhed, the last Fatimite caliph, deposed by Saladin.*
- 1269. Fall of the Almohades.
- 1516. The Sheriffs become emperors of Morocco.

A third caliphate was also founded in Egypt. In the beginning of the ninth century, Africa had been lost by the Abbasides, and the dynasties of the Edrisites and Aglabites reigned in Mauritania and Libya³: these were at

³ The *Edrisites*, descended from Ali, established themselves in Mauritania and Numidia, A. D. 782. The *Aglabites* (who reigned in Africa proper from Tunis to Egypt, conquered Sicily and part of Calabria from the Greeks, and became masters of Malta, A. D. 870) were the successors of *Ali Ibrahim Ben Aglab*, whom Harun al Rashid had made governor of Northern Africa. (He revolted about the year 812.) The Edrisites were overthrown in the year 908; the Aglabites, in 912.

length overpowered by *Mohammed Obeidollah*, who pretended to be the descendant of Ali and *Fatima*, and proclaimed himself Mihidi (or Director of the Faithful), June 809. *MOEZ*, his great-grandson, when Egypt had been conquered, Sept. 969, took the title of Caliph, and founded the city of Grand Cairo, to be the capital of his new empire. His kingdom of Africa and Sicily became the fief of one of his generals: it was afterwards distracted by revolutions, and at length split into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Tunis, and Algiers were the most important⁴.

⁴ The dynasty of the *Zeirides* (from *Zeiri*, a chief who founded a small principality in Africa, A.D. 935, and whose son and successor received Africa and Sicily from *Moez*, A.D. 971,) fell when the Sicilian Normans conquered the country from Tripoli to Tunis, A.D. 1048. It had lost the Mogreb or Western Africa long before, owing to the rise of the *Almoravides* or *Marabouts* (Morabethin, "Bound to Religion"), a fanatical sect, whose leader, *Abubeker*, styled Emir el Mumenin (Commander of the Faithful), seized Sigelmessa, A.D. 1061. His successor, *Yusuf*, conquered part of Spain. These were overthrown by another sect of fanatics, the *Almohades* (Mowahadin, "Unitarians"), who revolted A.D. 1120, and at length took Morocco, A.D. 1146. The Almohades seized upon the Spanish possessions of their rivals; put an end to the branch of the Zeirides which reigned in Bugia (A.D. 1152); and in 1159 and the following year, recovered Tunis, Tripoli, and the northern coast from the Normans. At the time of their fall, A.D. 1269, the *Merinides*, a rebel dynasty, got possession of Morocco and Fez. At length the *Oatazes*, a junior branch of these, were supplanted, A.D. 1516, by the *Sheriffs*, who still reign in Morocco.

The dominions of the other dynasties which shared in the spoils of the Almohades, became, in the sixteenth century, the fiefs of the Turkish sultan of Constantinople. But the piratical deys of Algiers, as well as the beys of Tunis and Tripoli, were not even appointed by their nominal master; and Turks, Moors, Africans, struggled together for thrones which could neither be won nor kept without bloodshed. Algiers has lately been taken by the French, July 1830, who have endeavoured, though with little success, to colonize it.

The Fatimite caliphs extended their rule into Asia over a great part of Syria and the whole of Palestine ; but the rise of the Seljukian Turks, and the valour of the Christian Crusaders, made it impossible for them to keep these conquests. Moreover, like their rivals in Bagdad and Cordova, they became degenerate, and their power passed into the hands of Vizirs or chief ministers, some of whom were even called Sultans. *Shawer*, one of these, having been deposed by a soldier named *Dargham*, A. D. 1163, fled to the court of the powerful Turkish lord of Aleppo, and, by a promise of tribute, got him to send an army into Egypt under the command of *Shirakoh*, a native of Curdistan, to his aid. By this means, he crushed his rival indeed ; but he quickly found that the Turks were dangerous friends, and leagued himself with his old enemy *Almeric*, the Christian king of Jerusalem, to drive them out of Egypt. In a few years, however, he was obliged to call back the Turks to defend him against Almeric : *Shirakoh* put him to death, and was made vizir in his stead. The new vizir died about two months afterwards, March 1169 ; and his nephew *Saladin*, who had hitherto given himself up to pleasure, was named his successor by the caliph *Adhed*, who now hoped to recover his temporal power. But it was soon seen that Saladin was no common man. He not only proved a match for Almeric, but he established his rule so firmly, that when Adhed was on his death-bed, Sept. 1171, he ordered his name to be left out in the public prayers, and restored the spiritual jurisdiction of the caliphs of Bagdad. Thus ended the schism of the Fatimites.

Fall of the Abbasides.

- A. D. 891. The Carmathian sect founded by Carmath.
- 929. Abu Taher and the Carmathians pillage Mecca.
- 935. The caliph Radhi creates an Emir el Omra.
- 943. The Bowides become Emirs el Omra.

- A. D. 1055. The Seljukian Turks become masters of Bagdad.
 1090. The Assassins establish themselves in Persia.
 1105. The Assassins spread to Syria.
 1152. *The caliph Mootafi recovers his independence.*
 1255. Hulagu Khan attacks the Persian Assassins (extirpated, A. D. 1257).
 1258. *Hulagu Khan puts to death Mostasem, the last temporal caliph.*
 1272. Bibars destroys the Syrian Assassins.
 1517. *Sultan Selim puts an end to the Spiritual Caliphate.*

Revolts, religious dissensions, the lawlessness of their Turkish guards, and their own cruelty, weakness, and incapacity, reduced the power of the later Abbasides to a shadow. They had deadly enemies in the Carmathians, a fierce and fanatical sect founded by *Carmath*⁵, whose successor *Abu Taher* ravaged Syria and Arabia, spreading terror to the very gates of Bagdad, and ruthlessly pillaging the holy city of Mecca, A. D. 929. For two centuries this scourge lasted; and for two centuries more, the Assassins⁶,

⁵ Carmath, who came from the neighbourhood of Cufa, gave himself out to be a prophet and Imam, A. D. 891. He altered the Moslem forms of worship; changed the day of the Sabbath to Monday; made Jerusalem the holy city instead of Mecca; and besides allowing the use of wine and pork, and lessening the obligatory *fasts*, he allegorized many of the precepts of the Koran.

⁶ The founder of the Ismailites or Assassins was *Hassan Sabah*, who is said to have belonged to an atheistical lodge at Cairo, in which the initiated were secretly taught to believe nothing and to dare every thing. He collected a number of credulous fanatics, whom he kept in ignorance of his real doctrines, and seized upon several hill-forts in Persia, A. D. 1090. A few years afterwards, a branch of the Assassins, whose chief was called by the Christian crusaders "the Old Man of the Mountain," established themselves in Syria. A number of devotees, clothed in white with red girdles, and armed with daggers, would, at the command of their Imam, in whom they believed the Holy Spirit to dwell, seek eternal life by murdering any one whom he hated, or whom they were hired to destroy. These

the dregs of the sect (whose very name has come to mean cold-blooded, treacherous murder), were dreaded in their Persian and Syrian fastnesses. The caliph RADHI was the last who addressed the people from the pulpit of the mosque, and commanded the army in person. He was forced to make one of his Turkish generals Emir el Omra, or Commander of Commanders, A.D. 935; and though he was still named in the public prayers and upon the coin, his authority was at an end. While the caliphs were so degraded, that they were sometimes shut up as prisoners within their palace, the new dignity was seized by successful Turkish leaders: it was soon an heir-loom of the Persian Bowides, and afterwards of the Seljukian family.

Even before this change took place, the rule of the caliphs did not reach beyond the neighbourhood of Bagdad: the emirs, or governors of provinces, had become independent princes, and a number of Tartar dynasties now quickly sprang up in Asia. In the middle of the twelfth century, the caliph MOCTAFI II. recovered his rights as an independent prince; but in little more than a hundred years, the poor remains of the power of the Abbasides were swept away by *Hulagu Khan* and the Moguls, who took Bagdad, and brutally murdered MOSTASEM, the last of the reigning caliphs, Feb. 1258.

The representatives of the fallen family⁷ were still recognised by the sultans of Egypt as the spiritual heads of the Moslem world. But when Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, A.D. 1517, the last of these powerless

pests were extirpated in Persia by the Mogul leader *Hulagu Khan*, A.D. 1257, and in Syria by the Mameluke sultan *Bibars*, A.D. 1272.

⁷ The first of these was *Achmet* (*Mostanser Billah*), one of the few who were left alive of the race. He came forward, A.D. 1261; but six months afterwards, he was slain by the Moguls, and his kinsman, *Hakim*, whom he had obliged to give way to him, became the head of the house.

caliphs, now a captive, was made to resign his religious claims into the hands of *Selim*, their sultan. From thenceforth, the Sonnite Mahometans have held the sovereign of Constantinople to be the chief of the faithful.

SECTION IV.

The Earlier Turkish Dynasties.

A. D. 468. The Empire of the Huns broken up.

553. The Altaian or Asena Turks establish an empire in Tartary.

616. Rise of the Hoei-ke Tartars.

752. The Hoei-ke Tartars overthrow the Asena Turks.

844. Dispersion of the Hoei-ke Tartars.

Tartary, a cold, barren country, and unfit for husbandry⁸, is inhabited by hordes⁹ of wandering shepherds, who dwell in tents and covered waggons, and whose food is flesh and milk. The hordes are governed by chiefs, and form confederacies under the rule of a Khan, or Monarch. Their roving habits and hardy way of living are admirably suited for warfare; and until the invention of gunpowder and the improvement of military science had given civilized man the advantage in the struggle, they would burst like a flood upon the rich plains of southern Asia, and spread fear and havoc even over Europe in the West and China in the farthest East. But though the Scythians, Huns, Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, were remarkable for the rapidity of their conquests, they seldom kept them for any

⁸ Even its southern plains are ungenial, owing to their great height above the level of the sea.

⁹ *Horde*, properly, means a tent: it designates the dwelling of the chief and the swarm which gathers round it.

length of years. The children of these rough warriors would become softened by the ease and luxury of a milder clime; their dominion would fall to pieces; and in their turn, they were overwhelmed by a fresh wave of invasion from the north.

About a century after the kingdom of the Huns had been broken up, the Asena Turks¹, a hardy race cradled in the Altaian mountains, established a vast power in Tartary and central Asia, which lasted about two hundred years. It was overthrown, A.D. 752², by the Hœi-ke Tartars, a people whose dominion was transient; but though split into a number of detached tribes, the Turks were still formidable, and when the rule of the caliphs had become weak and tottering, their chiefs and warriors became masters of Asia.

The Gaznavides and other Turkish Slave Dynasties.

A. D. 868. Achmet, son of Thulûn, revolts in Egypt.

905. The caliph recovers Egypt and southern Syria from the Thulonides.

935. Mohammed Ikshid master of Egypt and part of Syria.

961. Alptajin seizes Gazna.

969. The Fatimites overthrow the Ikshidites.

977. Sabaktajin succeeds Alptajin.

997. *Mahmûd reigns in Gazna.*

999. Mahmûd overthrows the Samanides.

1030. Death of Sultan Mahmûd I.

1037. The Seljukian Turks take Khorassan from Masûd.

1152. Allah ud Din takes Gazna.

1184. Mohammed Ghori takes Lahore; fall of the Gaznavides.

¹ Tartar, or rather Tatâr, is only the appellation given by the Chinese to the Turkish races beyond the great wall of China.

² The Eastern Turks were subdued, A. D. 744; the last of the Western dynasties, A. D. 752. (The empire had been divided into East and West, A. D. 581.) The Hœi-ke Tartars began to disperse in less than a century: the Seljukian Turks, A. D. 1037; and the Moguls, A. D. 1257, destroyed what remained of their power.

The first dynasties founded by Turkish chiefs who had revolted against the Abbasides, were established in Egypt. There, in the ninth and tenth centuries, *Achmet*³ and *Mohammed Ikshid*, from whom sprang the Thulonides and Ikshidites, successively arose: they likewise ruled over part of Syria. On the overthrow of the Thulonides, A.D. 905, the caliphs of Bagdad recovered their lost dominions for some years; but they were obliged to give them up to the Ikshidites, who were afterwards conquered by the armies of Moez, the first of the Fatimite caliphs, A.D. 969.

But it was in that vast tract of Independent Tartary which is watered by the Oxus and Jaxartes, and which first became cultivated under the Saracens who conquered it, that the mightiest of these dynasties of Turkish slaves was destined to rule. This country, owing to its distance from the seat of empire at Bagdad, was one of the earliest to throw off the yoke of the caliphs: its governors gradually set themselves up as princes, and also extended their sway over Khorassan and most of Persia⁴; and by the end of

³ His father, *Thulün*, was originally a slave of one of the caliphs.

⁴ In Khorassan, *Taker* founded the earliest dynasty which revolted against the caliphs, A.D. 820. The TAHERITES were overthrown, A.D. 872, by *Yacub*, the son of *Soffr* the Tinker, and Khorassan was united with Sedgestan, Tabaristan, and Fars, under the rule of the SOFFARIDES, who in their turn were conquered by *Ismail Samani* of Bochara, A.D. 902, a prince, whose race, the SAMANIDES (once camel-drivers and robbers), had obtained the government of Bochara from the caliphs, A.D. 874.

Another of these Persian dynasties was that of the DILEMITES, who reigned in Dilem and in the north of Persia. It rose A.D. 927, and fell A.D. 1012, being destroyed by the Gaznavides on the one side, and on the other by the rebel house of the BOWIDES, the children of a poor fisherman. This last famous dynasty began to undermine the Dilemites, A.D. 933; and though mostly divided into branches, it possessed Irak and Persia, and at one time even Bagdad itself. It was crushed at last by the Seljukian Turks, A.D. 1055.

the ninth century, the Samanides of Bochara were reigning there, having risen upon the ruins of the fleeting families which had preceded them. When these also began to decline, *Alptajin* (a Turkish slave who had become governor of Khorassan, and had been lately worsted in an attempt to alter the succession to the throne) revolted, and, seizing Gazna, A.D. 961, became lord of the high mountain territory of Cabul and Candahar. He was succeeded, A.D. 977, by *Sabaktajin*, his son-in-law and once his slave, who ravaged the Punjab, and gained the government of Khorassan for his eldest son *Mahmūd*, by rescuing the Samanides from the attacks of foreign and domestic foes. Sabaktajin, when he died (A.D. 997), left his own dominions to his youngest son *Ismail*, who, however, was soon deposed by Mahmūd, and imprisoned for life.

MAHMŪD the *Gaznavide*, the first Mahometan prince who took the title of Sultan, quickly seized upon the dominions of the Samanides, whom their rebel emirs and the Khan of Turkestan had overpowered, A.D. 999. He also reduced Khorasm a few years afterwards, and drove back the Khan of Turkestan behind the Oxus; and besides conquering Lahore and Persian Irak¹, he twelve times overran and pillaged the north of India, exacting tribute, ruining the temples of the idols, and butchering their worshippers². After the death of this mighty prince, A.D.

¹ He subdued the branch of the Bowides which reigned there, A.D. 1029. He had already extended his rule in Persia after the fall of the Dilemites.

² He pillaged Delhi and Kanouge, and the holy shrine of Sumnaut (of which the gates, placed on his tomb at Gazna (Guznee), were carried away as a trophy by the English a few years since). Mahmūd struck off the nose of the colossal idol of Sumnaut, and when offered an immense sum by the Brahmins to spare it, refused to become a "merchant of idols." The image was broken in pieces, and a quantity of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, far exceeding the value of the proffered ransom, were found in it.

1030, MASŪD, his son, subdued the rest of Persia (except Fars): but in the year 1037, Khorassan was wrested from him by the Seljukian Turks; and by the middle of the century, Persia and Balkh were lost by the Gaznavides. They still reigned, however, in Gazna, until that city was taken, A. D. 1152, and its magnificence destroyed by *Allah ud Din*, a prince of the Afghan house of Ghori, which had become too powerful to be kept under by the weakened dynasty. His successor, MOHAMMED GHORI, took Lahore, the last seat of the fallen sultans of Gazna, A. D. 1184.

A. D. 1192. Mohammed Ghori becomes master of Delhi (and of Benares, 1194).

1202. Death of Mohammed Ghori.

1206. Patan or Afghan dynasty at Delhi.

1208. The Khorasmians conquer Khorassan.

1210. Altmish succeeds Cutteb ud Din.

1316. Death of Allah ud Din.

1399. Tamerlane pillages Delhi.

1450. Rise of the Afghan house of Lodi.

1526. Ibrahim Lodi slain by the Mogula.

Mohammed Ghori now carried his arms into the heart of India. Though worsted at first, he returned and took Delhi, A. D. 1192; and in his later expeditions, he plundered Benares, the holiest of Hindoo cities, and destroyed its idols, A. D. 1194, and extended the rule of the Moslems to the Ganges. This fierce conqueror was surprised in his tent near the Indus, and murdered by some mountaineers who had sworn to avenge the death of their kinsmen in the field, A. D. 1202; and with him fell the pride and power of the house of Ghori. The lieutenants in India and the neighbouring mountain territory soon shook off their allegiance; and about the same time, A. D. 1208, Khorassan and the other northern provinces were conquered by the sultan of Khorasm⁷.

⁷ A branch of the family which reigned at Bamian, was also conquered in 1215.

CUTTEB UD DIN, a native of Turkestan, who had been the slave and afterwards the lieutenant of Mohammed Ghori, became the founder of the Patan or Afghan empire in India, A.D. 1206, and reigned in Delhi. On his death, A.D. 1210, ALTMISH, his son-in-law, another Tartar slave, seized the sceptre : he overpowered *Ildecuz* (one of Mohammed's chiefs, who had made himself lord of Gazna and the neighbouring countries), and also conquered Bengal, Bahar, and Malwa. Several of the children of Altmish ruled after him⁸; but his family was overthrown in its turn, and there followed a series of other slave dynasties in which were outrageous tyrants, of whom one of the worst, and at the same time the mightiest, was the profligate ALLAH UD DIN, the conqueror of Guzerat and of the south of India, who murdered an uncle to get on the throne. He died, A.D. 1316; and not many years afterwards, the misgovernment of his successors began to cause the provinces to fall away and become independent kingdoms. The evil was heightened by the dreadful inroad of the Moguls under *Tamerlane*, A.D. 1398, and for a time the Patan empire was broken up.

Its splendour was somewhat revived, in the middle of the next century, under the princes of the Afghan house of Lodi, who brought ^{to} Delhi and Upper India under their rule. This new monarchy, however, was overthrown by the Moguls, *Ibrahim Lodi* being killed while fighting against *Baber*, the descendant of Tamerlane, April 1526.

⁸ His daughter, RIZIA BEGUM (who was raised to the throne when one of her brothers was deposed for incapacity), stands, perhaps, alone as a Mahometan *reigning* queen. She ruled with vigour; but her fondness for an Abyssinian slave caused an insurrection of the chiefs in favour of another of her brothers, and she was defeated, imprisoned, and put to death.

The Seljukian Turks.

- A. D. 1037. The Seljukian Turks conquer Khorassan.
 1039. Battle of Zendecan.
 1041. Balkh and Khorassan conquered.
 1051. Togrul Beg takes Ispahan.
 1055. Togrul Beg enters Bagdad. Fall of the Bowidea.
 1057. Togrul Beg receives investiture as Emir el Omra.
 1060. Togrul Beg re-instates the Caliph Cayem.
 1063. Alp Arslan succeeds Togrul Beg.
 1068. The Seljukian Turks overrun Armenia and Georgia.
 1071. *Alp Arslan defeats the emperor Diogenes.*
 1072. Alp Arslan slain. Malek Shah succeeds.
 1079. Gelalean style, March 15.
 1089. Malek Shah invades Bokhara.
 1092. Nedham murdered. Death of Malek Shah.
 1104. Seljukian empire of Iran divided.
 1152. The caliph of Bagdad recovers his independence.
 1153. Sandgiar taken prisoner by the Uzes (died 1057).
 1195. The Khorasmians destroy the Seljukian empire.
 1308. The Seljukians of Iconium conquered by the Moguls.

Hitherto Turkish slaves had won for themselves kingdoms in the dismembered provinces of the caliphate; a vast empire was now founded in Western Asia by a Turkish nation, which in the midst of civilization still kept the rough manners of a shepherd race, and dwelt in tents in the neighbourhood of conquered cities.

The Seljukian Turks are named from their first leader *Seljuk*, a powerful emir in Turkestan⁹, who, having fallen into disgrace at the court of his sovereign, fled with his followers into the country near Samarcand, and was joined by a number of adventurers. They became Mahometans; and though for a time they were kept in check by the power of the Gaznavide sultans, Seljuk's grandson TOGRUL

⁹ The inhabitants of the Khozzez plains, at the north-east coast of the Caspian, were called Turkmanas, or Turcomans, some of whom were also known as Cumanes and Uzes.

BEG led them on to the conquest of Khorassan, A. D. 1037; and when sultan Masūd afterwards tried to recover his lost territory, the decisive battle of Zendecan, A. D. 1039, founded in Persia the new dynasty of the shepherd kings. Togrul Beg forthwith assumed the style of royalty; and in a few years, he also made himself master of Balkh, Khorasm, and of Ispahan and Persian Irak, the seat of the Bowides.

Togrul's zeal for religion was displayed in the protection of the caliph of Bagdad, whose power had been reduced to a shadow by the Bowides, and who was now a prisoner in the hands of some Arab emirs and a Turkish slave. He marched to Bagdad, A. D. 1055, restored to the caliph *Cayem* his honours, and seized and deposed the last sultan of the Bowides: he also waged war against the rebel emirs, and as a reward the Commander of the Faithful solemnly gave him in his capital the crowns and investiture of king of the East and West, and proclaimed him his temporal vicegerent over the whole of the Moslem world, A. D. 1057. Two years after this, the troubles of the caliph were again renewed: he was not only deposed, but his rival, the Fatimite caliph, was named in the public prayers at Bagdad, the heads of the family of the Abbasides being compelled to acknowledge his title. Togrul now returned, and having crushed the rebels, devoutly on foot led Cayem from the prison to the palace, holding his mule by the bridle, A. D. 1060¹.

ALP ARSLAN ("the Great Lion"), the nephew of Togrul, succeeded on the death of his uncle, A. D. 1063. He completed the conquest of Georgia and Armenia; made the princes and chieftains of Syria obey his rule; and over-

¹ Yet when Cayem (who had married his sister) proudly refused to give him his daughter in marriage, Togrul seized the caliph's revenues till he yielded the point.

powered the Eastern emperor Diogenes, and took him prisoner, Aug. 1071. But when he carried his arms into Turkestan, the cradle of his race, he perished by the dagger of *Joseph the Khorasmian*, whom he had just doomed to a cruel death for having bravely defended a castle against him², A. D. 1072. He was buried at Meru, and on his tomb was written:—"Ye who have seen the greatness of Alp Arslan raised as high as the heavens, go now to Meru, and ye will behold it buried in the dust!"

MALEK SHAH, his youngest son, had to fight for the throne against his uncle *Cadherd Beg*, who ruled in Kerman; but he took him prisoner in a bloody battle, and afterwards had him murdered. He was the mightiest prince of his age. His prowess was displayed in Tartary and Syria; and far and wide, in Ispahan, his capital, at Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Rhei, Samarcand, Bokhara, and Kashgar, was his name mentioned in the daily prayers. Like Alp Arslan, he was a great patron of learning³. But he died in his thirty-ninth year, A. D. 1092, and with him ended the unity of his empire: civil wars broke out, and the vassal princes of Kerman in Persia, Roum or Asia Minor, and Syria (afterwards shared between the kindred dynasties of Aleppo and Damascus), became independent

² When Joseph drew his dagger in despair, Alp Arslan, proud of his skill in archery, checked the uplifted battle-axes of his guards, and aimed an arrow at him. But the king's foot slipped, and the shaft fell wide of the mark.

³ In his reign, the Persian calendar (which had been lunar since the Mahometan conquest) was reformed. The *Gelaléan Style*—from *Gelaleddin*, the "Glory of the Faith," one of Malek's titles—began March 15, A. D. 1079.

Another great patron of learning was his renowned vizir, *Nedhak*. The disgrace and assassination of this aged statesman, who had also been the minister of Alp Arslan, sullied the closing career of Malek Shah.

sovereigns⁴. In a few years, Iran itself (the original kingdom) was divided; and in the middle of the twelfth century, the caliph of Bagdad was able to shake off the Turkish yoke, and the sultan of the eastern provinces, the hero SANDGIAR, Malek's last surviving son, was taken captive by the Uzes. Internal feuds now hastened the progress of decay, and favoured the inroads of the Khorasmians, who at length completed the conquest of Iran, A.D. 1195.

The lesser dynasties, that of Roum excepted, had already fallen. Roum, the last seat of the Seljukians, was, about the end of the fourteenth century, subdued by the Moguls, to whom it had for some time been tributary.

The Atabeks of Syria.

A.D. 1127. Sanguin (or Zenghi) is made governor of Mosul.

1128. Sanguin becomes master of Aleppo.

1144. Sanguin takes the city of Edessa.

1145. Death of Sanguin; Noradin atabek of Aleppo.

⁴ KERMAN became, A.D. 1063, the kingdom of CADERDH BEG (whose father had been made governor of the province by his brother, Togru'l Beg, A.D. 1041). It was overthrown, A.D. 1187, by an Arab chief of the house of Ali, and afterwards fell into the hands of the Khorasmians.

ROUM (also called the kingdom of NICE and ICONIUM, which were successively its capitals) was the *Roman*, or rather, Greek territory of Anatolia. It was conquered by SOLIMAN, a Seljukian to whom Malek Shah had granted all that he should take from the Christians, A.D. 1074. Soliman perished in a war with Tutush, Malek's brother, A.D. 1085; but his son, KILIDGE ARSLAN, returned to Nice after the death of Malek Shah, and put an end to an anarchy which had lasted some years. The kingdom of Iconium became tributary to the Moguls, A.D. 1243, and by these it was at length destroyed, A.D. (1294) 1308.

SYRIA, which then belonged to the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, was allotted, A.D. 1078, by Malek Shah to his brother TUTUSH, who gradually conquered it. Tutush was killed in a war with Malek's children, A.D. 1095, and his kingdom was divided. One of his sons

A. D. 1152. Noradin conquers the country of Edessa.

1154. Noradin takes Damascus.

1171. Submission of Egypt to the atabek.

1174. Death of Noradin.

1261. The Moguls conquer Mosul.

During the decline of the Seljukian power, some vassal emirs in Syria and Persia, called atabeks (or regents)⁵, became virtually independent. The most eminent of these was SANGUIN (or *Zenghi*), whom the Persian sultan had made atabek of Mosul, A. D. 1127, that he might check the arms of the crusaders in Syria: he established his rule in Aleppo, and fought successfully against the Christians, taking from them the city of Edessa. His career was cut short while he was besieging the castle of a hostile emir, Sept. 1145; but NORADIN (or *Nureddin*), one of his younger sons, having secured for himself Aleppo⁶, completed the conquest of the Edessene territory, and got possession of Damascus, which otherwise would have fallen into the hands of the Franks or Latin Christians, A. D. 1154. Egypt also was subdued by Shirakoh and Saladin, the generals of Noradin; but the atabek had soon reason to be jealous of the growing power of Saladin, and was on the eve of marching against him when he died, May 1174. The greatness of his house did not long outlive him.

The Ayubites, or Curdish Sultans of Egypt and Syria.

A. D. 1174. Saladin becomes sultan of Egypt and Damascus.

1183. Saladin takes Aleppo.

reigned at *Aleppo* (which revolted in the next generation, A. D. 1117, and submitted to the Ortokites, who could not keep it long); the other seized Damascus (where he was succeeded by his vizir, A. D. 1103). Damascus was taken by Noradin, the atabek of Aleppo, A. D. 1154.

⁵ *Atabek* means Father of the prince.

⁶ SAPHADIN, the eldest son, became atabek of Mosul. It was conquered, A. D. 1261, by the Moguls, who (as well as the Khorasmians) were the destroyers of several of the atabeks and emirs.

- A. D. 1193. Death of Saladin.
- 1196. Saphadin seizes Damascus.
- 1200. Saphadin seizes Egypt.
- 1250. Murder of Turan Shah by the Mamelukes. The sultan of Aleppo gains Damascus.
- 1260. The kingdom of Aleppo is overthrown by Hulagu the Mogul.

SALADIN, the son of *Ayūb* (a Curdish chieftain), forthwith proclaimed himself sultan of Egypt, and likewise seized Damascus: in a few years, he was also sultan of Aleppo, June 1183. In spite of the gallant efforts of the crusaders, most of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, and the holy city itself, became the conquest of this mighty prince; who, though guilty of much bloodshed and treachery, was just, temperate, charitable, and generous. When he died at Damascus⁷, March 1193, his dominions were divided among his children, brothers, and kinsmen, three of his sons being sultans of Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt.

The kingdoms of Damascus and Egypt, before many years had passed, were seized by Saladin's brother **SAPHADIN**: they were inherited by his children, and were sometimes united, sometimes divided. When **TURAN SHAH**, the last of this dynasty who reigned over the two kingdoms, was murdered by his Mamelukes, or body guard of Tartar slaves, May 1250; Egypt fell under the power of the Mamelukes, and Damascus transferred its allegiance to the Ayubite sultan of Aleppo. This prince, the great-grandson of Saladin, was afterwards stripped of his dominions by the Moguls under Hulagu Khan, A. D. 1260, by whom he was put to death.

⁷ Just before his death, he bade his winding-sheet be carried as a standard through every street of Damascus, a crier going before it and saying, "This is all that remains of the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East!"—Though a bigoted Mahometan, he gave alms to men of every creed.

The Mamelukes.

- A. D. 1250. The Baharite Mamelukes become masters of Egypt.
 1260. Bibars sultan of Egypt.
 1261. The Mamelukes take Damascus.
 1268. Bibars takes Antioch [dies, A. D. 1277].
 1382. The Borjite Mamelukes supersede the Baharites.
 1516. Selim, the Ottoman sultan, conquers Syria.
 1517. *Selim conquers Egypt from the Mamelukes.*
 1811. Mahomet Ali massacres the Mamelukes.

The Mamelukes^{*}, after bestowing the crown of Egypt for a short time on the mother-in-law of the murdered king, and then on a prince of the Ayubite dynasty of Yemen, raised their own chiefs to the throne. The greatest of these was the fierce and cruel BIBARS, the conqueror of Syria; who became sultan of Egypt by the murder of his predecessor, Oct. 1260.

For about two hundred and sixty years, forty-seven sultans, few of whom were allowed to live long, ruled over the turbulent Mameluke chiefs and their followers. This "basest of kingdoms" was overthrown by the Ottoman Turks under *Selim*, who, after conquering Syria, burst upon Egypt, and ended a victorious campaign by hanging the last of the slave sultans at one of the gates of Cairo, April 1517. Selim, foreseeing the danger of entrusting so rich and distant a province to a pacha with unlimited power, preserved the Mamelukes, and gave them a share

^{*} The Mamelukes were originally a guard of 12,000 Turkish slaves, embodied by the Egyptian sultans (about twenty years before their fall) from captives sold by the Moguls to the slave dealers of Asia. As they were either childless, or became extinct in the third generation,—the races of Tartary and the Caucasus will not naturalize in Egypt, and the Mamelukes (unlike the Ottoman Turks) never married native women,—they were replaced by slaves brought from Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, and Tartary. There were two races of sultans, the *Baharites* (or Maritime), the Turks, who were imported by sea; and the *Borjites* (or Garrison Men), who were Circassians.

in the government : twenty-four of their beys, each of them at the head of a district, formed a council which could overrule the decrees of the pacha, and even depose him. This singular military aristocracy, which kept up its succession, not by its children, but by adopted slaves, was crushed at length by the might and cunning of the pacha *Mehemet Ali* ; who invited the Mamelukes to a festival in the citadel of Cairo, where they were caught as in a trap, and shot down by his troops, March 1811.

The Khorasmians.

- A. D. 1097. Cothbeddin Mohammed is made shah of Khorasm.
- 1195. The Khorasmians complete the conquest of Iran.
- 1219. Jingshis Khan breaks the power of the Khorasmians.
- 1220. Death of Mohammed II.
- 1221. Mankbarn escapes across the Indus.
- 1225. Mankbarn recovers Persia.
- 1229. The Moguls destroy the Khorasman empire.
- 1230. Mankbarn is murdered by the Curds.

In the year of our Lord 1097, COTHBEDDIN MOHAMMED, the son of a Turkish slave who had risen to eminence, was made by the Seljukians ruler of Khorasm. His descendants overthrew the power of the Seljukians in Persia, and founded a mighty empire, which, however, was trampled under foot by the wide wasting armies of *Jinghis Khan*, A. D. 1219. MOHAMMED II., the unhappy sultan of the Khorasmians, fled to a barren island in the Caspian, where he died : his gallant son GELALEDDEIN MANKBARN retreated to Gazna, and when driven by Jingshis to the banks of the Indus, boldly spurred his horse into the stream, followed by 4000 of his warriors, and crossed it unhurt by the arrows of the Moguls. Some years afterwards, Mankbarn recovered most of his dominions ; but forgetting the lessons of adversity, he gave himself up to pleasure, and was surprised by an inroad of the Moguls, A. D. 1229, who now swept away the empire of the Khorasmians for ever.

Mankbarn sought a refuge among the Kurds, by whom he was ruthlessly murdered⁹.

The Ortokite Turkomans.

A. D. 1083. Ortok is made emir of Jerusalem.

1096. The Ortokites lose Jerusalem.

A branch of the Turkomans established itself in Armenia and Syria under ORTOK, a chieftain whom the Seljukians made emir of Jerusalem, A. D. 1082. His sons, though they were driven out of Jerusalem by the Egyptian Fatimites, founded kingdoms at Maredin and elsewhere, of which traces remained at the end of the fourteenth century.

Turkomans of the Black and the White Sheep.

A. D. 1410. The Turkomans of the Black Sheep take Irak Arabi.

1468. The Turkomans of the White Sheep conquer those of the Black Sheep.

1501. Ismail Sofi defeats the Turkomans.

1508. Extinction of the dynasty of the White Sheep.

Another branch of the Turkomans, called the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, rose into power in the beginning of the fifteenth century; and having seized Bagdad, which then belonged to the Ilkhanian Moguls, A. D. 1410, reigned in Armenia, Irak Arabi, and Tauriz. It had to yield, A. D. 1468, to the Turkomans who bore the White Sheep on their banners, and had become masters of part of Lower Armenia, Irak Arabi, and Anatolia. These likewise conquered Persia and Khorassan: but they were, in their turn, overpowered by *Ismail Sofi*, the founder of the modern Persian kingdom, A. D. 1501; and a few years afterwards, their dynasty was at an end¹.

⁹ The remnants of the Khorasmian army afterwards became the terror of Syria, as will be seen in the account of the crusades.

¹ The history of several petty Tartar tribes and dynasties, most of them pagan, which have established themselves in the north and east of Asia, would, of course, exceed the limits of this work.

SECTION V.

THE CRUSADES.

A. D. 1074. Encyclic letter of Gregory VII.

1076. The Seljukian Turks take Jerusalem.

1084. Ortok becomes emir of Jerusalem.

1095. *Councils of Placentia and Clermont.*

In the eleventh century, the faith of the cross, which before the decay of the Saracens had seemed about to be swept away from the earth, was again threatened by the rapid conquests of the Seljukian Turks ; especially in the reign of Malek Shah, when he and his turbulent chieftains made war against the Greeks, and won from them whole kingdoms. Europe was at that time broken up into a number of disorderly governments by the feudal system, and there was no unity of policy to combine Christendom against its barbarian foes. It was saved by religious enthusiasm.

From the earliest ages, Christians were wont to visit the Holy Land² ; and the custom had gained ground as it came to be believed that such pilgrimages would atone for sin. Avarice had led the Saracens to tolerate the practice ; but when the country fell under the rule of the Egyptian Fatimites, the condition of the Christians, whose pilgrims were heavily taxed, greatly altered for the worse. These sufferings had become still more dreadful, now that the ruthless and bigoted Seljukian and Ortokite Turks were masters of Jerusalem : they reached such a height that all Europe rang with complaints from the East, and *Peter the Hermit*, a restless Picard from Amiens, who had been a soldier in

² Towards the close of the tenth century, the belief that the Millennium was about to commence in Palestine, gave a fresh impulse to the pilgrimages. Numbers sold all that they had, or gave their goods to the Church, and hastened to the scene of the second advent.

his youth, returned from the Holy Sepulchre burning with indignation at the shocking scenes which he had witnessed, and went from town to town, and from court to court, to preach the duty of a holy war³.

Peter's efforts had the sanction of pope *Urban II.*, who now convened a council of Italians at Placentia, March 1095, in which the legates of the Greek emperor Alexius loudly called for aid against the infidels. The appeal was not made in vain; and in the following November, it was renewed in a speech of the pope himself before another council of French and Germans at Clermont in Auvergne. At this second assembly, so vast that it was held in the open fields, the cry of "Deus vult! Deus vult!" "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" broke forth from the heart and lips of the excited multitude: myriads caused the Red Cross to be sewn upon their garments, and were rewarded by a plenary indulgence⁴, freedom from all suits for debt as well as discharge from the interest, and the powerful protection of the church⁵. Even priests, monks, peasants, women, and children, swelled the crowd of crusaders, and left their homes to fight for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. No sovereign, however, took the cross.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A. D. 1095. *The First Crusade proclaimed.*

1096. The Crusaders set out for Palestine.

³ Pope *Gregory VII.* (Hildebrand) had, on the application of the Greek emperor, recommended such a war in an encyclic letter, A. D. 1074. In the preceding century, *Sylvester II.* (Gerbert) had formed a similar project. Peter was furnished with credentials from *Symeon*, the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, a kindred spirit.

⁴ All ecclesiastical penances for sin were remitted them.

⁵ The council confirmed "The Truce of God," which prohibited all private warfare from the evening of every Wednesday to the morning of the Monday following; and the excommunication of *Philip I.* of France for bigamy.

A.D. 1097. Death of Walter the Penniless. The taking of Nice. The battle of Dorylæum. Baldwin becomes master of Edessa.

1098. Antioch surrenders to Bohemond. The Christians besieged in Antioch.

1099. Jerusalem taken. Godfrey of Bouillon king of Jerusalem.

1109. Bertrand of Thoulouse takes Tripoli.

In the following spring, a motley host of needy adventurers had begun to move eastward in successive swarms : most of these were destroyed when trying to force their way through Hungary and Bulgaria ; and the rest, with *Walter the Penniless*, one of their leaders, were afterwards cut to pieces by the Turks in Asia Minor⁶. Later in the year, Aug. 1096, *Godfrey of Bouillon*⁷, duke of *Lower Lorrain* or *Brabant*, set forth at the head of the crusading nobles of Northern Germany, and led them safely through Hungary into Thrace. The brother of the king of France, *Hugh*, the proud count of *Vermandais*, with *Stephen* count of *Blois* and *Chartres*, *Robert* count of *Flanders*, *Robert*

⁶ There were four armies in all. The *first*, under Walter sans Avoir, or the Penniless, traversed Hungary ; but being obliged to pillage for subsistence in Bulgaria, it was attacked by the unfriendly natives, and suffered immense loss. The *second*, the mutinous rabble of Peter the Hermit, met with a like fortune. The two armies were passed over the Hellespont by the Greeks. Their insubordinate spirit soon made Peter return to Constantinople ; and Walter fell, when his disorderly soldiers, greedy of pillage, were decoyed into the field by a report, which the Turks had spread, that Nice had yielded to the vanguard of the Christians. The *third* was led by *Gottschalk*, a German priest ; and the *fourth* (by far the largest of these swarms), which savagely massacred the Jews in the Rhenish cities, was headed by count *Emicho*. These two last ruffian hordes, after committing horrible outrages, were slaughtered by the Hungarians.

⁷ Godfrey was the eldest son of *Eustace II.*, count of *Boulogne*. He had received Lower Lorrain (the duchy of his maternal grandfather) from the emperor *Henry IV.*, whose cause he had stoutly upheld against the pope.

duke of *Normandy*, whose uncle *Odo* (the earl-bishop) died on the journey, and *Eustace* count of *Boulogne* (Godfrey of Bouillon's brother) crossed over the Alps into Italy, and thence by sea into Greece. *Bohemond*, the prince of *Tarento*, and his cousin *Tancred*, and an army of Italians who had caught the enthusiasm of the French soldiers, likewise passed over the Adriatic; and the haughty lord of the South of France, *Raymond* count of *Thoulouse*, with the pope's legate *Adhemar* bishop of *Puy* (the first person who had taken the cross), the archbishop of *Toledo*, and a host of Languedoc and Spanish warriors, marched through Lombardy and Dalmatia into Thrace. The emperor Alexius, alarmed at the numbers of the Crusaders, behaved with great treachery at first⁸; but being foiled by the firmness of Godfrey, he was glad to furnish each army as it arrived at Constantinople with provisions, and to convey it across the Bosphorus into Asia. All the princes but Raymond readily agreed to pay him homage⁹.

A vast army now laid siege to Nice, the capital of the sultan of Roum, May 1097; but when, about the end of a month of hard fighting, it was on the point of storming the city, the place was found to have surrendered itself to the cunning Alexius. The crusaders then set forward in two divisions, one of which, headed by Bohemond and Robert of Normandy, would have been destroyed at Dory-

⁸ Alexius had commanded his fleet in the Adriatic to intercept the crusaders; he had detained the count of Vermandais, who had been stranded on his coasts; and had tried to starve Godfrey's troops and to surprise his camp. Godfrey, though victorious, saw the policy of being on good terms with the Greeks; and he saved Alexius from the fury of the crusaders, and agreed to pay him homage. On this occasion, the brave *Robert of Paris*, one of his companions, was so disgusted, that he insulted Alexius by sitting on his throne.

⁹ The enraged Alexius endeavoured to destroy Raymond and his Provincials in the dead of night; and the latter, but for his brother chiefs, would have made open war with the wily Greek.

læum in Phrygia by *Kilidge Arslan*, the Turkish sultan, had not the rest come up and routed the infidels with great slaughter; and after a dreadful march in the burning heat of summer through a wasted country, they passed out of Asia Minor into Syria, forced the "Iron Bridge"¹⁰ of the Orontes, and sat down before Antioch. During an unskilful siege of eight months, their already waning numbers were frightfully lessened by hunger and hardship; the Ulysses of the expedition, the sagacious Stephen of Blois, went away on pretence of ill health; Robert of Normandy left his comrades, and was thrice recalled before he would return; and Peter the Hermit himself was brought back when attempting to run away. At length, Antioch, when at the last extremity, was betrayed in the night to Bohemond by a renegade, June 3rd, 1098, and a shocking scene of revelry and massacre ensued.

But though the Syrian princes had signally failed in their attempt to raise the siege, Kilidge Arslan soon saw himself more powerfully reinforced by an army from the Seljukian sultan of Persia; and the conquerors were besieged in their turn, and suffered horribly from famine, being abandoned in their distress by Alexius¹. The firmness of Godfrey, Raymond, and Adhemar, saved the Christians. Visions, and a pretended discovery of the Holy Lance (by which our Lord was pierced), also revived the drooping courage of the crusaders; and on the 28th of June, in a desperate battle (in which some men who appeared on the hills, clad in white armour and mounted on white steeds, were thought to be St. George, St. Maurice, and St. Theodore coming to their aid), they utterly discomfited their foes. A plague shortly afterwards broke out, to which the noble-minded Adhemar and many thousands fell victims.

¹⁰ So called because its gates were covered with iron plates.

¹ The count of Vermandais, who was afterwards sent to reproach Alexius for his baseness, took care not to return.

The crusaders were detained for some time by the selfish disputes of Raymond and Bohemond for the possession of Antioch ; but the zeal of the people at last forced all the leaders but Bohemond to push on to Jerusalem, which had lately been recovered from the Turks by the Fatimite caliph. A scanty remnant of a countless host—only 1500 horsemen and 20,000 foot soldiers—besieged the city for forty days, in spite of a grievous drought which was ascribed to the wrath of heaven. All quarrels were made up, the generous Tancred, then at feud with Raymond, setting the example ; on which the penitent warriors, having marched in procession round the beleaguered walls, prepared for the assault. After a deadly conflict, in which St. George was seen a second time, the town was stormed in three places, July 15th, 1099 ; and a horrid massacre of the infidels took place, which was renewed even after the procession of the weeping crusaders to the Holy Sepulchre. Godfrey of Bouillon was now chosen king, though he never would wear a diadem where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns : his brother *Baldwin* had previously acquired the county of EDESSA in Mesopotamia, and the principality of ANTIOCH had been granted to Bohemond².

A. D. 1099. Godfrey defeats the Egyptians at Ascalon.

1100. Baldwin I. Era of the origin of the knights of St. John.

1101. Supplementary Crusade. Death of Hugh count of Vermandais.

1102. Death of Stephen count of Blois.

1118. Baldwin II. Origin of the knights Templars.

² Raymond of Thoulouse died before he could conquer TRIPOLI. The place was taken by his eldest son, *Bertrand*, June 1109, and erected into a county dependent on the kingdom of Jerusalem. When Bertrand perished in a war with Damascus, A. D. 1137, he was succeeded as count of Thoulouse, duke of Narbonne, and marquis of Upper Provence, by his brother *Alfonse Jourdain* ; in Tripoli, by his son *Pontius*, whose grandson bequeathed the country to the heir of the principality of Antioch, A. D. 1187.

A. D. 1131. Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem.

1144. Fulk dies. Sanguin takes Edessa.

Godfrey, in the following month, with his small army, overthrew the host of the Egyptian caliph at Ascalon. Dying not long afterwards, at the age of forty, July 1100, he was succeeded by his brother, the count of Edessa. BALDWIN I., a less holy, but equally valiant prince, gave up Edessa to a kinsman, and enlarged the scanty realm of Jerusalem and Jaffa by the conquest of Ptolemais or Acre, Berytus, and Sidon. He died childless, March 1118; on which his kinsman BALDWIN II., *du Bourg* (who now resigned Edessa to his brave cousin *Joscelin de Courtenay*), was raised to the throne. In this reign, Tyre was taken.—The territories of these kings never reached more than a few leagues from the sea, and being thinly peopled, were wanting in the means of defence. But though the *Pullani*, or cross breed of Franks and Syrians, were a vile race, their Latin subjects kept their ground with extraordinary gallantry: these were reinforced by troops of adventurers and penitents from Europe³, and more than once assisted by the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. The religious orders of the knights of the Hospital of St. John and of the Temple⁴

³ A supplementary crusade, A. D. 1101, sent forth a vast crowd, most of which perished in Asia Minor. Four armies marched; and among the leaders were the dukes of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria*, the marchioness of *Austria*, and the counts of *Parma*, *Nevers*, *Burgundy*, Hugh of *Vermандаis*, and Stephen of *Blois* (whom the reproaches of his spirited wife, *Adela* of England, had driven back to retrieve his honour). Hugh died of his wounds at *Tarsus*; Stephen was taken and murdered by the Egyptians.

⁴ The *Military Friars of the Hospital* (an order which was soon divided into knights of noble birth, chaplains, and serving brothers) originated, about the year 1100, in the lay members of the convent and hospital of the Cypriote St. John the Almoner (founded at Jerusalem for sick pilgrims), who formed a congregation of which St. John the Baptist was the patron; and in the time of *Raymond du Puy* (who

were also a powerful aid in the war against the infidels ; but their pride, jealousy, and misconduct often neutralised the benefits of their daring valour.

Baldwin II., who died Aug. 1131, left the crown of Jerusalem to FULK⁵ of *Anjou*, the husband of his daughter *Melesinda*. Fulk died Nov. 1144 ; in which year, at Christmastide, the city of Edessa was taken from the Christians by Sanguin, the atabek of Aleppo.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

A. D. 1146. St. Bernard preaches the Second Crusade.

1147. *The Second Crusade*. Conrad III. is defeated in Asia Minor ; Lewis VII. victorious at the Mæander.

1148. Defeat of the French near Laodicea. Siege of Damascus.

1149. Lewis and Conrad return home.

1152. Death of Suger. Noradin conquers the rest of the county of Edessa.

The fall of Edessa much alarmed the Christian world. *St. Bernard*, the great abbot of Clairvaux (known also in the schools as the opponent of the brilliant *Peter Abelard*, *Eloïsa's* selfish lover), was empowered by pope *Eugenius III.* to preach another crusade ; and at the feasts of Easter and Christmas 1146, the zealous monk persuaded *Lewis VII.* of France and *Conrad III.* of Germany to take the cross⁶. The next year, the two sovereigns, each with a

became grand master in 1121), took upon themselves the further obligation of fighting against the infidels. They wore a black robe with a white linen cross of eight points.

The *knights Templars* arose out of an association of French knights, headed by *Hugh de Payens*, for the protection of pilgrims on the road. They were named from their house, which was a part of the royal palace near the site of Solomon's Temple, given to them by Baldwin II. They wore a white mantle with a red cross.

⁵ Fulk was count of Anjou, and the father (by his first wife) of *Geoffrey Plantagenet*.

⁶ In Germany, Bernard silenced the preaching of *Rudolf*, a monk, who loudly called for a massacre of the Jews.

host of warriors and pilgrims, marched through Hungary and Thrace into Asia. Conrad's guides were given him by the eastern emperor Manuel Comnenus, who seems to have been secretly leagued with the Turks; and the heavy-armed Germans, when they had passed out of Bithynia, were led into deserts, where they were worn out with fatigue and hunger, and destroyed by the arrows of the sultan of Roum's army: hardly one in ten escaped. The French, who had taken Iconium, taunted the Germans with their failure, and advancing into Lydia, routed the infidels on the banks of the Mæander. But their rear-guard was afterwards surprised and cut to pieces in the defiles beyond Laodicea, Jan. 1148; and Lewis, with the rest of his soldiers, embarked for Antioch, being forced for want of ships to leave the pilgrims to their fate⁷.

Lewis, who under these trying circumstances had shown a noble firmness, went thence to Jerusalem, where he found Conrad and *Henry II.*, of *Austria* (then duke of *Bavaria*). The Christians agreed to besiege Damascus; and it would have been taken but for the treachery of the Latin barons of Palestine, who were angry because the crusaders meant to give it as a lordship to *Thierry* count of *Flanders*. In the following spring, the unsuccessful monarchs returned home⁸; and about three years afterwards, the rest of the territory of Edessa was conquered by Noradin, the son and successor of Sanguin.

⁷ Alfonse Jourdain, count of Thoulouse (old Raymond's younger son), died soon afterwards. This crusader was the fourth count of Thoulouse who died in the Holy Land.

⁸ Lewis wished to go out again to the East; but the French barons did not share his zeal. The venerable *Suger*, his prime minister, who, from patriotic reasons, had tried to dissuade him from taking the cross, now became the preacher of a holy war. Failing in the attempt, the high-spirited monk resolved to lead a small army into Palestine; but he died at his abbey at St. Denys, when on the eve of setting out, Jan. 1152.

- A. D. 1144. Baldwin III. Melesinda regent.
 1149. Baldwin rebuilds Gaza.
 1153. Baldwin takes Ascalon.
 1162. Almeric I. War with Egypt.
 1165. Almeric aids Shawer. Battle of Artesia.
 1167. Almeric again aids the Egyptians.
 1168. Almeric attacks the Egyptians; they call in Shirakoh.
 1169. Almeric is driven out of Egypt. Siege of Damietta.
 1170. Saladin conquers Gaza.
 1173. Baldwin IV., the Leper.
 1185. Baldwin V.
 1186. Guy of Lusignan becomes king of Jerusalem.
 1187. Battle of Hittyn, or Tiberias. Conrad of Montferrat saves Tyre; *Saladin takes Jerusalem.*

BALDWIN III., the warlike son of Fulk and Melesinda, had been crowned, when a lad of thirteen, together with his mother, whose authority he quickly shook off: he rebuilt Gaza; took the strong town of Ascalon from the Egyptians; won Cæsarea for the prince of Antioch; and died greatly mourned, Feb. 1162.

ALMERIC I., the late king's brother, began his reign by a fruitless invasion of Egypt. He afterwards went thither as the ally of Shawer, the Egyptian caliph's vizir, against Noradin, whose troops were twice repelled⁹; then he suddenly turned against his friend, and overrunning his dominions, forced him to call on Noradin himself for aid. The Egyptians availed themselves of the avarice of Almeric, and wasted his time with negotiations for peace and a large tribute, until the army of the Syrians under Shirakoh had come up, and the Christians were made to leave the country, Jan. 1169: a fleet supplied to Almeric by the

⁹ At the same time as the former of these expeditions, the Christians in Palestine were defeated by Noradin, near Artesia, Aug. 1165. In this battle, *Bohemond III. of Antioch*, *Raymond II. of Tripoli*, and the last of the Asiatic Courtenays, *Jocelin II. of Edessa*, were taken prisoners.

eastern emperor Manuel Comnenus, had also been destroyed. The rapid rise of Shirakoh's nephew Saladin now alarmed the Latins; and in the following autumn, Almeric, again supported by a Greek fleet, besieged Damietta for fifty days. On his return, he had to defend his own dominions; and Gaza, the key of Palestine on the side of Egypt, was taken by Saladin. Almeric died, July 1173.

BALDWIN IV., his youthful son, became a leper, and unable to manage his troubled kingdom. He died, March 1185.

BALDWIN V., the son of *Sybilla* (the late king's sister), and of *William of Montferrat*, her first husband, died an infant, Sept. 1186.

GUY of LUSIGNAN¹, the second husband of Sibylla, was enabled by his wife to seize the kingdom. This weak prince was unable to restrain *Reginald* lord of *Carac*, one of his feudatories, from plundering the Moslems: the indignant Saladin rushed forth to avenge the wrong; and at Hittyn, near Tiberias, the Christian army was cut to pieces, Lusignan himself being taken prisoner, July 1187. Saladin followed up the blow. Most of the towns, having been drained of their defenders, soon yielded; Jerusalem, the Holy City, surrendered after a gallant resistance of fourteen days, Oct. 1187; and the principality of Antioch became tributary to the infidels. Amid the general wreck, Tyre and Tripoli escaped. Tyre was twice besieged; but it was saved by the valour of *Conrad of Montferrat*², a new comer, whom the inhabitants gladly received as their marquis.

¹ This worthless French knight, who had been obliged to leave Guienne on account of the murder of *Patrick* earl of *Salisbury*, had been made guardian of the kingdom by Baldwin the Leper, who soon degraded him.

² He arrived in Palestine the very day that his father, *William the Old*, marquis of *Montferrat*, became a captive at Hittyn. The latter died in the following year, soon after he had regained his freedom; on which *Conrad* inherited *Montferrat*, his elder brother *William* (*Sybilla's* husband) being dead.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

A.D. 1187. Bull of pope Gregory VIII.

1188. Saladin tithe.

1189. Frederic Barbarossa begins *the Third Crusade*. Lusignan besieges Acre.
Death of Sibylla.

1190. Death of Frederic Barbarossa.

Frederic duke of Swabia aids Antioch. Teutonic knights founded at Acre.

1191. Frederic of Swabia dies at Acre. Philip Augustus and Richard I. arrive and take Acre. Philip returns home. Saladin defeated near Azotus; the crusaders fall back from Jerusalem.

1192. Murder of Conrad of Montferrat, king of Jerusalem. Richard retreats from Jerusalem, but saves Jaffa. Truce with Saladin.

A bull for a new crusade having been issued by pope Gregory VIII., Frederic Barbarossa, the German emperor, was the first to march for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre³, April 1189. After twice defeating the sultan of Asia Minor, and taking Iconium, the aged hero died from being chilled when bathing in the Calycadnus in Cilicia, June 1190; and in spite of the skill and bravery of his son Frederic duke of Swabia, who enabled the people of Antioch to regain their freedom, the Turks were encouraged to harass the army of the crusaders, of whom scarce one-tenth reached Acre. Before this place, Frederic died, after mainly contributing to the establishment of the Teutonic knights of St. Mary⁴.

³ Henry II. of England, and Philip-Augustus, had also agreed to take the cross, Feb. 1188. For one year, all their subjects who did not follow their example had to pay one-tenth of their goods—the famous Saladin tithe.

⁴ Some charitable soldiers of Bremen and Lubeck, under a tent formed of sails, tended the sick and wounded at Acre. Hence arose the new military order of the *Teutonic knights of St. Mary in Jerusalem*, where a German hospital had been founded about sixty years before. The knights, priests, and serving brothers of the order (of which

Acre had been already invested, Aug. 1189, by Lusignan, who had been set free after yielding up all his rights to the infidels: there the besiegers were themselves besieged by Saladin, and the deaths among them from famine, pestilence, and the sword, were countless¹. Lusignan's wife Sibylla, and her two children, died; an event which soon gave rise to serious feuds. For her sister *Isabella* got herself divorced from *Humfrey* lord of *Thoron* (to whom she had been married when eight years old), and forthwith became the wife of *Conrad*, the marquis of *Montferrat* and *Tyre*, who now claimed the crown of *Jerusalem* in opposition to Lusignan.

The arrival of *Philip-Augustus* of France, April 1191, and of *Richard I.* of England, about two months afterwards, infused new spirit into the siege; and in the following July, Acre at last surrendered, though not before fresh myriads had perished beneath its walls. Philip, jealous of Richard, then withdrew from the crusade on pretence of ill health, leaving 10,000 men with the duke of *Burgundy* (*Hugh III.*). In the quarrels between the two kings, the Templars and the Genoese had sided with Philip; the Hospitallers and the Pisans, with his English rival.

From Acre, 30,000 crusaders marched with Richard along the coast to Jaffa, harassed by Saladin, whom, however, they signally defeated near Azotus, Aug. 1191. They then advanced towards Jerusalem; but in a few weeks, owing to the storminess of the weather and great sufferings from sickness and want of food, they fell back

Henry of Walpot was the first grand master, A.D. 1190), were all Germans. They wore a white mantle, with a black cross embroidered with gold.

¹ A heavy loss was sustained by the crusaders in *Baldwin*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who a few years before had preached a crusade in Wales, and had extended the jurisdiction of his see over the Welsh bishops. His valour once saved the Christian camp.

on Ascalon. What was worse, their feuds gave encouragement to their foes. Conrad of Montferrat (whose claims had been opposed by Richard⁶) even became the ally of Saladin; and when he was at length chosen king of Jerusalem, April 1192, the tidings had hardly reached him before he was murdered by two of the mountain assassins in the streets of Tyre⁷. Calumny laid the murder to the charge of Richard.

In the following June, Richard reluctantly withdrew from Jerusalem, which had again been threatened with a siege. Saladin now tried to take Jaffa; but the English king flew to the rescue, and not only drove the Turks from the town, but routed them in the open field at the head of a mere handful of men. Anxious to return home, the victorious hero concluded a truce with Saladin for three years and some months, Sept. 1192; by which Jaffa and Acre, with the sea-coast between, were to be left to the Christians, and the pilgrims to the holy places were to be unmolested.

THE CRUSADE OF THE GERMANS (*or The Fourth Crusade*).

A.D. 1195. Celestine III. proclaims a crusade.

1196. *The Germans undertake the Crusade against Saphadin.*

1197. *Death of Henry VI.* Failure of the Crusade.

Pope *Celestine III.* proclaimed a new crusade, which was undertaken by the Germans. The emperor *Henry*

⁶ Richard bestowed the kingdom of Cyprus, his late conquest, on his friend Lusignan, who engaged to pay a sum of money to the Templars, to whom the island had been mortgaged.

⁷ His widow, Isabella, now took Richard's nephew, *Henry* count of *Champagne*, for her third husband; on whose death, A.D. 1197, she married *Almeric de Lusignan*, who had inherited his brother's kingdom of Cyprus. When Almeric died, April 1205, he was succeeded in Cyprus by the son of a former marriage, while Isabella's claims to Jerusalem were inherited by *Mary*, her daughter by Conrad of Montferrat. See also p. 71, note 2.

VI. waited indeed till he had completely reduced Sicily (which he claimed in right of his wife); but *Henry of Saxony*, the count palatine, *Henry* duke of *Brabant*, *Margaret* of Hungary^a, and a number of prelates and nobles, set out for the holy land, A.D. 1196. The crusaders, though they met with some reverses, more than once defeated the valiant sultan Saphadin, who had lately taken Jaffa; and several towns were recovered. But the news of Henry's death caused the return of the archbishop of *Mentz* and all the princes who had an interest in the next election; and the remnant of the host was surprised at Jaffa (one of their conquests) while jovially celebrating the feast of St. Martin, and massacred by the Moslems, Nov. 1197.

THE FOURTH (or Fifth) CRUSADE.

A.D. 1199. The counts of Champagne and Blois take the cross.

1201. Treaty with the Venetians. The count of Champagne dies.

1202. *The Fourth (or Fifth) Crusade.* Zara taken.

1203. Alexius at Zara. The Crusaders take Constantinople.

1204. *Constantinople* again taken by the Latins.

Innocent III.—a pope who devised the plan of filling his own coffers by taxing the clergy, and taking alms of the laity, for the support of a Holy War—enjoined another crusade; which was zealously preached in France by *Fulk*, the fanatical priest of Neuilly, and undertaken at a tournament, Dec. 1199, by *Theobald* (Thibaut III.) the youthful count of *Champagne*, and by *Lewis* count of Blois^b. Their

^a *Margaret* of France, widow of *Henry* of England (the son of Henry II.), and of *Bela III.*, king of Hungary. She died in Palestine.

^b *Theobald* (the brother and successor of Henry, count of Champagne) and *Lewis* of Blois were both of them nephews of Richard I. and Philip-Augustus; the mother of the one being *Mary*, and of the

example was soon followed by Baldwin IX., count of Flanders, and by several French, Flemish, and German nobles ; and when Theobald had sickened and died, his place as leader of the projected crusade was taken by *Boniface* marquis of *Montferrat* (the brother and successor of the gallant Conrad). To obtain the means of transport by sea, the French and Flemish lords made a league with the Venetians.

In the course of the year 1202, the crusaders arrived in Venice ; but they were unable to pay their allies all the money which they had promised. They therefore agreed, notwithstanding the reluctance of Boniface and the denunciations of the pope (whom the Venetians never much regarded), to recover for the republic from the Hungarians the revolted town of Zara ; which was accordingly attacked and reduced, Nov. 1202, the armament being joined by the Venetians under their renowned doge *Henry Dandolo*, who, though stricken in years and nearly blind, had put on the cross.

At Zara, their aid was sought by Alexius, the son of Isaac Angelus, the deposed emperor of the East. Again defying the pope, instead of going to the Holy Land, they set sail for Constantinople ; and in less than a month after they had entered the Propontis, they drove the usurper from his capital, and raised the sightless Isaac Angelus from a dungeon to the throne, July 1203. Such, however, was their insolence and bigotry, that the new state of things did not last. The war broke out anew ; and they burst a second time upon Constantinople, which yielded once more to the desperate valour of 20,000 Latins, and was frightfully pillaged, April 1204. A great part of the city was

other, *Alice*, the daughters of Lewis VII. of France, and *Eleanor* of *Guienne*. Baldwin of Flanders was also the brother-in-law of the count of Champagne.

burned down; most of the masterpieces of ancient art which escaped the flames were ruthlessly destroyed; and even the churches, and the tombs of the Greek emperors, were rifled and profaned¹.

Six French and six Venetian electors now proceeded to choose an emperor. Baldwin of Flanders was preferred by them to Boniface of Montferrat; and for about sixty years, Constantinople was under the weak and unhappy rule of the Latin princes.

THE FIFTH (or Sixth) CRUSADE.

- A. D. 1210. John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem.
- 1213. The Crusade of Children.
- 1215. Innocent III. proclaims a new crusade.
- 1217. Crusade of Andrew, king of Hungary.
- 1218. Desertion of Andrew. *The Fifth (or Sixth) Crusade.*
Siege of Damietta.
- 1219. The Crusaders take Damietta.
- 1221. The Crusaders evacuate Egypt.
- 1225. Frederic II. marries Violante.
- 1227. *Frederic II. begins his Crusade*, but turns back.
- 1228. Frederic II. resumes his Crusade.
- 1229. Frederic makes a treaty with the sultan of Egypt.

Notwithstanding the efforts of *John de Brienne*, who had lately gotten by marriage the titular kingdom of Jerusalem², the Christian power in Palestine would have been overthrown but for the divisions among the Moslems. Innocent III. was therefore aroused to proclaim another holy

¹ The corpse of Justinian was stripped of its vestments; the gorgeous altar of St. Sophia fell a prey to the sacrilegious hands of the soldiers, who also displayed their hatred to the Greek faith by dancing in the sanctuary to the singing of a low harlot, who had seated herself in the chair of the patriarch.

² The barons of Palestine had applied to Philip-Augustus to give a husband to Mary, the daughter of Almeric II. and Isabella, and he had chosen this son of the count of *Brienne* in Champagne.

war at the Fourth Council of Lateran, Nov. 1215³; but he died before he could fulfil his promise to march at the head of the crusaders. The first to move at his call was *Andrew*, king of Hungary, who, with *Lewis I.* and *Leopold VI.*, the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Austria*, and other nobles of Lower Germany, proceeded by sea to Acre. Much time, however, was lost in useless pilgrimages, and the cause was soon weakened by the desertion of Andrew himself. Those who were left, being reinforced by the crusaders from the North of Germany⁴, now determined to pass over into Egypt, and laid siege to Damietta, May 1218. There they were joined by the count of *Marche*, *William Longsword*, earl of *Salisbury*, and other French, English, and Italian warriors; and at the end of eighteen months of suffering, they entered into the city, when hunger, disease, and the sword had brought down its defenders to a helpless remnant, Nov. 1219.

Yet though they had refused the offer of Jerusalem itself, provided that they evacuated Egypt, the crusaders wasted the winter in inaction, and many returned home. The rest were afterwards led by the pope's rash legate to march towards Cairo; and in their way they were stopped by the canal of Ashmoum, on the other side of which the Mahometans were posted. Instead of attacking the enemy, who again offered fair terms, they waited until the Nile had risen, and the sluices being opened, their camp was

³ Two years before, thousands of children in France and Germany had escaped from their homes, at the preaching of fanatics, to go on a crusade. Those who survived the effects of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, reached Marseilles and the Italian ports, whence not a few were cruelly driven back: the rest embarked, and were either lost at sea, or else sold for slaves by villanous shipmasters to the infidels in Egypt.

⁴ While on their voyage, these fought against the Moors of Portugal, as was often done by crusaders who passed that way.

inundated ; so that they were caught "like fish in a net," and were glad to purchase a safe return by the surrender of Damietta, Sept. 1221.

The Crusade of Frederic II.

The emperor *Frederic II.*, at the instigation of his guardian Innocent III., had sworn to recover the Holy Land ; and he was often reminded of his oath by pope *Honorius III.*, who dreaded his ambitious designs in Italy. He was now induced to marry *Violante*, the heiress of John de Brienne, who gave up to him his claims on Jerusalem ; but even after the arrival of his bride, the emperor still put off his crusade, on account of the troubled state of his Italian and Sicilian possessions. At length, being sharply urged by pope *Gregory IX.*, he set sail from Brundisium, Sept. 1227, though many of his warriors from the north had either died or been dispersed, owing to sickness which had arisen from the heats of summer. In a few days, illness made him turn back ; on which he was fiercely excommunicated by the Pope, who soon had his dominions ravaged by the Emperor's Sicilian Saracens.

The following year, Aug. 1228, Frederic again sailed to Palestine, where, as he was still under the papal ban, he met with opposition from the clergy, and treachery on the part of the Templars and Hospitallers. Finding that the Pope had actually sent troops^s to lay waste his cities in Apulia, he was glad to make a treaty with *Camel*, the sultan of Egypt, Feb. 1229, by which Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were regained, Moslems, however, being allowed as well as Christians to worship in the Mosque of Omar, on the site of Solomon's temple. This last article gave great offence ; and when Frederic was enthroned as king in

^s One of the Pope's generals was John de Brienne himself, whose daughter, the empress *Violante*, had lately died.

Jerusalem, none but his courtiers and the Teutonic knights would attend, and he had to take the crown from the altar with his own hands.

THE (*Seventh*) CRUSADE.

A. D. 1234. Council of Spoleto.

1239. The Latins lose Jerusalem. *The (Seventh) Crusade.*

1240. Richard earl of Cornwall joins the Crusaders.

1241. The Latins recover Jerusalem.

Owing to the troubled state of Palestine, a new crusade was preached by order of a council at Spoleto, in the pontificate of Gregory IX. ; and in the summer of the year 1239, in spite of obstacles which the selfish policy of the pope and the emperor had created, *Theobald*, count of *Champagne* and king of *Navarre*, *Hugh IV.* duke of *Burgundy*, and other French nobles⁶, landed at Acre. The Latins had again been expelled from Jerusalem ; and the new comers were soon discouraged, and began to negotiate. As the sultan of *Damascus* was at war with the sultan of *Egypt*, he thought fit, after the arrival of *Richard* earl of *Cornwall* with the younger *William Longsword* and several English warriors, to restore Jerusalem and most of the holy territory. These terms the firmness of Richard (whose Christian name alone—that of his lion-hearted uncle—was enough to alarm the Infidels) forced him to fulfil.

THE SIXTH (*or Eighth*) CRUSADE.

A. D. 1244. The Khorasmians sack Jerusalem. Great defeat of the Franks.

1245. First council of Lyons.

1247. The Egyptians overpower the Khorasmians.

1248. St. Lewis undertakes the *Sixth or (Eighth) Crusade.*

1249. St. Lewis takes Damietta.

1250. Battle of Massura. St. Lewis is taken prisoner.

Death of Turan Shah. St. Lewis goes to Acre.

1254. St. Lewis returns to France.

⁶ Among these was *Peter Mauclerc*, who had lately resigned the duchy of Brittany to his son, and *Amalric* count of *Montfort*.

Syria at this time was ravaged by the hordes of Khorasmians which had fled from before the Moguls. Not many years afterwards, being in alliance with the Egyptian sultan, these marauders burst upon Jerusalem and cruelly pillaged it, Oct. 1244. The Franks tried to stem the torrent, and they even got troops from the sultans of *Ems* and Damascus; but they were routed in a bloody battle, in which the grand masters of the Hospital and the Temple were slain. After wasting the country, and conquering Damascus for the Egyptians, the Khorasmians at length quarrelled with their faithless allies; and in a fierce engagement they were discomfited and dispersed, their terrible chieftain *Barbacan* (Barkab-khan) being left dead on the field, A. D. 1247.

The tidings of this dreadful onslaught had awakened great alarm in Europe; and at the council which met at Lyons, June 1245, pope *Innocent IV.* had caused a new crusade to be preached. *Lewis IX.*, of France¹, with his three brothers, the counts of *Artois*, *Poitou*, and *Anjou*, together with Hugh IV., duke of Burgundy, and at least 50,000 crusaders, hearkened to the call. The French king and his vassals embarked for Cyprus, Aug. 1248, and, having wintered in that island, set sail for Damietta, which was abandoned at the first assault, June 1249. Joined by William Longsword and several English knights, after much loss of time, they resolved to march to Cairo: they were stopped by the canal of Ashmoum, and there they were repeatedly baffled by the bravery and the Greek fire of the enemy. A passage over a ford was at last effected by Robert of Artois, William Longsword, and the Grand Masters of the Hospital and the Temple, Feb. 1250; but the impetuous prince, instead of waiting for the main body, taunted the knights with treachery and

¹ He had previously vowed to go on a Crusade when suffering from severe illness.

the Englishman with cowardice, and thus got them to make a rush into the town of Massura. The Egyptians, however, recovered from the panic and attacked them there: the count of Artois and Longsword fell; the Grand Master of the Hospital became a captive; and the chief of the Templars escaped with the loss of an eye, to be slain when the battle was disastrously renewed some days afterwards. After these checks, famine and sickness began to waste the Christian army, which attempted to retreat when too late. The Moslems broke into their camp; and Lewis, who had determined rather to die than forsake his subjects, was taken prisoner when at last, sick, weary, and wounded, he lay insensible, April 1250. In a few weeks, his adversary Turan Shah, the new sultan of Egypt, was murdered in the pride of victory by his Mamelukes.

Meanwhile the courage of Lewis had been unshaken by captivity, though his foes had repeatedly tried to work upon his fears. Being now allowed to retire with the wrecks of his captive forces, on condition of restoring Damietta and paying a ransom; he proceeded to Acre and fortified the seaports in Palestine: he also took advantage of the wars which had broken out between the Moslems. But when the Syrians made peace with the Egyptians, his hopes were at an end; and on hearing of the death of his mother, whom he had left regent of France, he returned home, April 1254.

THE SEVENTH (or *Ninth*) CRUSADE.

A. D. 1259. War between the Templars and Hospitaliers.

1266. Bibars (or Bonduchar) takes Cæsarea.

1268. Bibars takes Jaffa and Antioch.

1270. *The Seventh (or Ninth) Crusade.* St. Lewis dies at Tunis.

1271. Prince Edward goes to Palestine and takes Nazareth.

1272. Return of prince Edward.

The Latins in the Holy Land kept wasting their strength

in feuds; and a war actually broke out between the Templars and the Hospitallers, in which the latter gained a bloody victory, A.D. 1259. Then followed the conquests of the Mamelukes, under their fierce sultan Bibars, who (besides taking Cæsarea, Azotus, Jaffa, and other strongholds) put an end to the Christian state of Antioch, June 1268.

The zeal of St. Lewis now led him again to take the cross. His example was followed by his brother Charles of Anjou (who had lately won the crown of Sicily), by prince *Edward of England, Theobald II.*⁸, king of Navarre, *John I.*, duke of *Brittany*, and a number of French and English warriors. Instead, however, of going to the Holy Land, Lewis was induced, partly by a wild hope of converting the Bey of *Tunis*, and partly by his brother (to whom the Tunisians had refused the tribute once paid to the Sicilian kings), to land on the coast of Africa, July 1270. Sickness soon broke out in the French army when encamped before Tunis upon the burning sands, and among those who died was Lewis himself, Aug. 25th.⁹ His son *Philip the Hardy*, who was now joined by Charles of Anjou, went on with the siege until the end of November, when he made a truce with the Tunisians and returned home.

Prince *Edward*, accompanied by his brother *Edmund Crouchback*, and his cousin *Henry d'Almain*, had just arrived at Tunis. He went away to Sicily, where he passed the winter¹. Thence, though followed by only a thousand

⁸ Theobald, who died childless, was son-in-law to St. Lewis; and his half sister was married to the duke of Brittany.

⁹ His third son, *John Tristan*, born at Damietta, had also fallen a victim.

¹ In the meanwhile, Henry d'Almain was murdered by the Montforts. See Part III. p. 162, note 1.—Edward was joined by the ducal prince of Brittany, *John* count of *Richemont*, who had married his sister *Beatrice*.

men, he sailed to Acre, April 1271, and distinguished himself in the Holy Land by recovering Nazareth from the Infidels: but he suffered from the climate, and was wounded by the poisoned dagger of an assassin hired by the treacherous emir of *Jaffa*, June 1272. Being cramped by the smallness of his means, and needed at home, he gladly agreed to the ten years' truce which the Mamelukes had offered at the command of Bibars; and thus ended the last of the Crusades.

A. D. 1274. Second Council of Lyons.

1288. The Egyptians take Tripoli.

1291. *Fall of Acre.*

At the Second Council of Lyons, opened in May 1274, another crusade was decreed by pope *Gregory X.*, but in vain. Before long, the county of Tripoli² followed the fate of Antioch, April 1288; and Tyre and Berytus yielded, when, notwithstanding the gallantry of the military knights (especially the Templars, under their grand master *Peter de Beaujeu*), the capture of the lawless town of Acre by the Egyptians had put an end to the Christian rule in Palestine, May 1291. The power of the Turks, however, was checked by the Moguls, until Europe was better able to maintain her independence.

Besides the good which the Holy Wars had done by driving back the tide of Mahometan aggression, the stirring scenes and the distant expeditions of those times were not without use in awakening the intellect of Europe. Social order gained by the absence or destruction of many turbulent barons³; the number of charters granted to raise money in an age in which the circulating medium was

² Its count *Bohemond VII.*, whose father lost Antioch, had just died childless, leaving a disputed succession.

³ Many fiefs thus fell in to the crown, which thus became better able to withstand the nobles; and much land was bought cheap by the clergy, who were the best landlords in those times.

scanty, greatly bettered the condition of the middle classes in the towns; the weakening and decay of feudalism tended to the increase of a free peasantry; and no small impulse was given to the march of maritime and commercial enterprise⁴. On the other hand, the mischievous influence of the popes had much extended itself, and they had learned to fill their coffers by selling indulgences and pardons for sins⁵.

⁴ Many new wants and luxuries date from the æra of the Crusades, especially the use of sugar in Europe.

⁵ FATE OF THE MILITARY ORDERS.—The *Hospitallers*, after the fall of Acre, took refuge for a time in Cyprus. They soon made a crusade against Rhodes, which they took, Aug. 1310, and gallantly kept possession of it until its conquest by the Turks, Dec. 1522. *De Lido Adam*, their brave grand master, eventually obtained from the emperor, *Charles V.*, the islands of Malta and Gozzo, which thus became the chief seat of the order, Oct. 1530. The Turks made an attempt to dislodge the knights from their new stronghold in the year 1565; but they were foiled by the astonishing valour of *De La Valette* and his companions, and the Hospitallers remained masters of Malta until they basely yielded it to *Napoleon* and the French, June 1798.

The *Templars*, who, like their rivals, had found Cyprus an inhospitable abode, retired from warring against the Paynim or Infidels. Thus, though far more rigid than the Military Friars, they became unable to defend themselves against calumny, and soon fell victims to the rapacity of the profligate *Philip the Fair*, by whom they were accused to pope *Clement V.* of heresy, unbelief, idolatry, and various abominable crimes. Those who were in France were thrown into prison, Oct. 1307, and afterwards tried by papal commissioners, who had recourse to corruption, intimidation, and even torture: thirty-six knights had been tortured to death; and some sixty who retracted these forced confessions were condemned to the flames in Paris alone, Oct. 1310. Similar means were employed in Italy. In England, for fear of the penalties of heresy, many knights made a general confession of error; but no charge was proved: in Germany and in Spain, the brotherhood was triumphantly acquitted. At length, when the council of Vienne had met to decide the question, the pope broke his word and imprisoned the knights who had appeared in defence of their order; and after trying in vain to procure its condemnation

SECTION VI.

THE MOGULS.

Empire of Jenghis Khan.

A. D. 1163. Birth of Temujin (Jenghis Khan).

1176. Temujin succeeds his father as Khan.

1203. Temujin overpowers Onk Khan (Prester John).

1206. Temujin becomes Jenghis Khan. *Rise of the Mogul Empire under Jengis Khan.*

without their being heard, he took advantage of the arrival of the French king, and provisionally dissolved the society, April 1312. Its estates were bestowed upon the Hospitallers, who, however, had much trouble to get them, particularly in France. The last act of this tragedy was the burning of the grand master, *Jacques de Molay*, before a slow fire at Paris, March 1314, because he would not confirm a confession which the fear of torture had wrung out of him. His friend *Guy* (the brother of the dauphin of *Auvergne*) shared his fate.

The *Teutonic Knights*—who, during the mastership of *Herman of Salza*, had already begun the conquest of Pagan Prussia (A. D. 1231), and had incorporated as a provincial branch (May 1237) the order of Christ founded at the opening of the century in Livonia—made the commandery at Venice their chief station, until they had fixed upon Marienburg (A. D. 1309). They then carried the Gospel and the sword into Lesser Pomerania, which they had to dispute with the Poles, but gained at the treaty of Kalisch, July 1343: they also fiercely attacked the infidel Lithuanians. Their progress was checked by the bloody victory won by the Lithuanian *Jagellon*, now king of Poland, at Tannenburg, July 1410; and a war with his son, *Casimir IV.*, who had taken the part of their ill-used subjects, ended in the peace of Thorn, Oct. 1466, when the knights had to give up most of their dominions, only keeping East Prussia (in which Königsberg now became their seat) by holding it as a fief of Poland. This thralldom was shaken off, about forty-five years afterwards, by the famous *Albert of Brandenburg*, a grand master who at length went over to the Lutherans, having betrayed his order at the treaty of Cracow, April 1525, in which he got his uncle, *Sigismund I.*, king of Poland, to grant him Teutonic Prussia as a ducal fief. The *Teutonic knights*, whose domains were thus reduced to a few insignificant

A. D. 1211. Jenghis Khan attacks the Kin Tartars in the north of China.

1215. The Moguls take Yen-king (Pekin).

1219. The Moguls overrun Khorasm.

1225. Defeat of the duke of Kiev at the Kalka.

1227. *Death of Jenghis Khan.*

At the end of the twelfth century, the Kin, a nation of the eastern Tartars, had the chief sway in Tartary and reigned in Cathay (Khatai), or Northern China, the rest of which country still belonged to its native princes of the Song dynasty⁶; the Khorasmians had conquered Persia and

districts, removed to Mergentheim in Franconia, where they lingered in obscurity until the present century, when they found themselves involved in the ruin which befell so many of the petty German potentates.—About the year 1521, the *provincial master* in Livonia (who had also charge of Esthonia, sold to the order by the Danes in the fourteenth century) purchased the independence of his branch from Albert of Brandenburg, who was still grand master. It was eventually ruined by a disastrous war with Russia. The Esthonians, at this crisis, revolted to the Swedes; and *Gothard Kettiler*, the last master, became a Lutheran, and yielded Livonia to the Poles, on condition of his being allowed to keep Courland, now erected into a vassal duchy, Nov. 1561.

The *Knights of St. Lazarus*, of whom all the earlier grand masters were lepers, and who wore a green cross, were an order more ancient than the last. It was connected with the old leper hospital at Jerusalem, dedicated to St. Lazarus (the Lazaretto); was afterwards removed into France and Italy in the year 1254; and, about the end of the sixteenth century, was amalgamated with other orders.

⁶ CHINA, of which the early history is a heap of fables, was not always united into one empire: it was often split into a number of states. About five hundred years before Christ, in the kingdom of Lu, flourished the celebrated philosopher *Con-fu-tse*, or *Confucius*, whose maxims are still the rule of life among the educated classes. CHING-WHANG, the founder of the great *Tsin* dynasty, about 240 B.C., began to build the "Great Wall," to keep off the Tartars; and under the yet more celebrated dynasty of *Han*, the religion of *Fo*, or Buddhism, is said to have been introduced from India, in the first century of our æra. In the seventh century, Christianity was taught in China

the neighbouring countries on the north of India ; the once mighty caliphs feebly ruled at Bagdad, while a remnant of the Seljuks were lords of Iconium, and the Ayubites were sultans in Egypt and Syria.

Among the tributaries of the Kin were the Moguls, a savage, hideous race of Tartars, who then ranged with their herds and flocks over the highlands of Mongolia, but were on the eve of becoming the conquerors of the East. They rose into greatness under *Temujin* (the youthful chief of a small horde which his father's valour had called forth from obscurity), who, though left an orphan at thirteen, and at one time forced to wander about like an outcast with a

by the Nestorians, who, however, were expelled about two hundred years afterwards. From the *Song* dynasty, the Kin Tartars conquered the northern provinces, A.D. 1127, and the Moguls the rest. The *Ming* dynasty, which succeeded on the expulsion of the Moguls, and had made Tibet tributary, was overthrown in its turn by the *Man-chu* Tartars, an offshoot of the Kin, A.D. 1644. The present dynasty is remarkable for the banishment, in the year 1724, of the Jesuits and the other Romish missionaries, after a toleration of nearly 170 years ; and for the rigid exclusion of foreigners, who were confined to the port of Canton,—a system relaxed since the wars with England, which broke out, A.D. 1839, on account of the prohibited trade in opium. The Chinese were the first inventors of block printing and of gunpowder, and their industry and good husbandry enable their country to sustain a vast population.

JAPAN seems to have emancipated itself from China, its mother country, about seven hundred years before Christ. The *Dairis*, or sovereigns, in the course of ages, let the temporal power slip gradually out of their hands ; and ever since the year 1583, there have reigned two emperors, the *Dairi*, or spiritual lord, and the *Cube*, or military prince, who is the actual ruler. Japan was first visited by the Portuguese in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the great Jesuit missionary, *Francois Xavier*, came from India to plant Christianity in its islands. The new religion greatly prospered for several years : it was uprooted at last by persecution and civil war, A.D. 1638, when the Portuguese were forbidden the island, the Christians massacred, and no foreigners but the Dutch allowed to trade.

small but faithful band of followers, gradually gained the ascendancy over the tribes of Western Tartary; even the powerful *Onk*, or *Vang Khan*[†], had lost his kingdom and his life, when he tried to put down the man whom he had once befriended and made his son-in-law. A *curaltai*, or grand gathering of the hordes, was held, A. D. 1206, in which, at the bidding of a crazed prophet, Temujin was declared to be JENGHIS KHAN, or The Greatest of Kings.

A few years after this, Jenghis Khan made war against the Kin Tartars; and forcing the great wall of China, he wrested from them Pekin and five of the northern provinces of Cathay. He then attacked and overcame the Khorasmians; thus conquering most of Persia and central Asia, and enlarging his domains into the vastest of empires: in Europe itself, the duke of *Kiev* and thousands of Russians perished at the Kalka, in a vain attempt to withstand the ruthless hordes which had driven the tribes of the *Kapjak* before them[‡]. And after having left every where a ghastly track of blood and fire, whole countries being wasted, many thriving cities ruined, and countless multitudes savagely butchered in cold blood; he was about to crown his achievements with the conquest of China, when he was overtaken by death, Aug. 1227[§].

A. D. 1229. Oktai Khan enthroned. The Khorasmian empire finally destroyed.

1234. The empire of the Kin Tartars comes to an end.

[†] Vang-Khan was a Nestorian Christian, and is said to have been made a priest. Hence, by old writers, he is called "*Prestor John*."

[‡] The Moguls founded the tributary kingdom of *KAPJAK* in the countries north and east of the Caspian. The expelled *Kapjaks*, now *Cossacks*, eventually settled in the Ukraine, on the Don, and on the north coast of the Caspian.

[§] Jenghis Khan, like all the earlier Moguls, was a heathen. Four of his children by the same wife—he had more than five hundred wives—ruled under him: Oktai was the third son. *Karakuran* was the capital of the Mogul empire.

- A.D. 1235. Batu pillages Kiev.
 1237. Vladimir burnt ; defeat of Iouri. Russia tributary to the Moguls.
 1241. Cracow burnt ; battle of Liegnitz. Poland, Moravia, and Hungary overrun. Oktai dies.
 1243. The Sultans of Iconium become tributary to the Moguls.
 1251. Accession of Mangu Khan.
 1258. *Hulagu Khan destroys the caliphate of Bagdad.*
 1259. Mangu Khan is killed in China.
 1260. Kublai Khan. Hulagu reigns in Iran.
 1279. Kublai completes the conquest of China.
 1294. *Kublai dies.* The vassal kingdoms become independent.
 1335. The kingdom of Iran breaks up into several parts.
 1368. The Moguls lose China.
 1382. The Moguls of Kapjak burn Moscow.
 1395. The kingdom of Kapjak begins to break up.
 1477. *Ivan III. overcomes the Khan of the Golden Horde.*

The successor of Jenghis Khan was his son, the fierce drunkard OKTAI KHAN, who was solemnly made king when he had returned from China. In the beginning of his reign, the Khorasmians, who had of late recovered much of their old power under the heroic Mankbarn, were again subdued ; and before long, A.D. 1234, the empire of the Kin Tartars in the north of China was finally overthrown. The Moguls now began to turn their arms against the Chinese themselves, of whom they had hitherto been the allies : they also made fresh inroads into Europe under Oktai's nephew *Batu Khan*, who ruled over the vassal kingdom of Kapjak ; and Kiev and Moscow were pillaged, Vladimir burnt, and its grand duke *Iouri* (George) slain in a bloody battle together with thousands of his subjects, A.D. 1237. During the following years, swarms of Tartars spread like locusts over Silesia, Poland, Moravia, and Hungary¹ ; and for more than two centuries afterwards,

¹ *Boleslaus V.*, duke of *Poland*, abandoned his people at this crisis : Cracow was burnt, and *Henry II.*, the duke of *Silesia* and *Cracow*, who made head against the invaders, was defeated and killed at Liegnitz, April 1241. Bohemia was now overrun, while Batu ravaged

the Russian princes were still the tributaries of the Moguls of Kapjak.

About two years after the death of Oktai, the Seljukian sultans of Iconium had also been made to yield up their independence, A.D. 1243; and in the reign of MANGU KHAN (one of the grandsons of Jenghis), the renowned caliphate of Bagdad fell for ever, Feb. 1258. Mangu was killed at the siege of a town in China, and his dominions were shortly afterwards divided between his two brothers, A.D. 1260: KUBLAI KHAN, who now reigned in Tartary and northern China, gave Iran and the lately reduced countries in Western Asia to Hulagu Khan, the conqueror of Bagdad², to be held as a dependency of his empire. The whole of China was finally subdued by Kublai, A.D. 1279; and Corea, Tonquin, Cochin China, Pegu, Tibet, and Bengal were made tributaries. When he died, Jan. 1294, the unity of the Moguls was broken; the princes of the house of Jenghis who reigned over the kingdoms of Iran, Kapjak, and Jagatai, no longer acknowledging the Great Khan for their liege lord³.

China was at length lost by the Moguls, A.D. 1368, when CHUNG-TI, the degenerate descendant of Kublai, unable to make head against the courage and talent of *Chu*, the low-born founder of the native Ming dynasty, fled away into Tartary⁴. Some time before, A.D. 1335, the kingdom of

Hungary, having driven king *Bela IV.* to flee for refuge into Dalmatia until the storm had passed away.

² Hulagu and his son also were checked in Syria by Bibars and the Mamelukes.

³ After some hesitation between the Koran and the Gospel, the Moguls of Iran, Kapjak, and Jagatai, had become Mahometans; a circumstance which had much estranged them from their old idolatrous liege lords of the Chinese dynasty.

⁴ His son founded at Karakuran a new dynasty of the "Yuen,"—the "Yuen of the North," or the Khans of the Kalcas. These at last became tributary to the Manchu Tartars, who had conquered China.

Iran had broken up into small states: these were conquered at the end of the century by *Tamerlane*, who had supplanted the khans of Jagatai in Turkestan, and humbled the pride of the Moguls of Kapjak. These last now began to split and weaken; which at length emboldened the Russian grand duke *Ivan III.* to throw off their yoke⁵. He followed up his refusal to pay tribute by overpowering the khan of the Golden (or leading) Horde, A.D. 1477; and in the days of his grandson *Ivan the Terrible*⁶, the first who bore the title of Czar, the Russians were already extending their sway over the kingdoms of their old masters.

Empire of Tamerlane.

A.D. 1336. Birth of Tamerlane.

1359. The sultan of Kashgar overruns the kingdom of Jagatai.

1360. Tamerlane becomes emir of Kesh.

1363. The foreign invaders are driven out of Jagatai.

1370. *The empire of Tamerlane begins.*

1381. The kingdom of Herat conquered.

1386. Siege of Teflis; Georgia humbled.

1387. Fars, or Persia proper, conquered; massacre at Is-pahan.

1388. The khan of Kapjak attacks Tamerlane.

1389. Tamerlane ravages Cashgar.

1391. Tamerlane overruns the kingdom of Kapjak.

1393. Shiraz retaken; fall of the Modhafferians. Achmet is driven out of Bagdad.

1395. Tamerlane again overruns the Kapjak kingdom.

1398. Tamerlane invades India.

1399. Massacre at Delhi. Tamerlane ravages Georgia.

1400. Teflis retaken. War with Bajazet; siege of Sivas.

⁵ The Moguls of Kapjak had already been once defeated on the Don, A.D. 1380, by the Russian grand duke, *Demetrius*; but they afterwards burnt Moscow, now the capital of Russia, A.D. 1382.

⁶ Ivan IV. conquered the kingdom of Kasan (A.D. 1552), and that of Astrakhan (A.D. 1554). Turan, or Siberia, was then gradually subjected; and in the last century (A.D. 1774), the Russians forced the Ottoman Turks, to whom the Crim Tartars had become vassals, to evacuate the Crimea.

A. D. 1401. Syria and Arabian Irak conquered ; Bagdad burnt.

1402. Bajazet taken prisoner at Angora ; siege of Smyrna.

1405. Death of Tamerlane.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the power of the Moguls was again let loose upon the world. TIMUR LENK (Timur the Lame), better known as TAMERLANE⁷, was born, April 1336, in a village near Samarcand, his future capital ; and he succeeded his father as emir of Kesh, A. D. 1360, at a time when the kingdom of Jagatai, to which he belonged, was torn with feuds and overrun by the armies of the khan of Cashgar⁸. The young emir, who at first met with strange reverses, played a distinguished part when the invaders were driven out ; and in a few years, he had so gained the lead among his fellow-chieftains, that in a grand *couraltai* he crowned himself, and was hailed as Master of the World, April 1370 : yet, being only descended from Jenghis in the female line, he never called himself khan or sultan ; he feared to offend the people by deposing a dynasty of sovereigns whose authority was venerated, even though it had dwindled into a mere shadow. His terrible sway quickly spread itself far and wide : from Moscow to Delhi, from the wall of China to the shore of the Mediterranean, nothing could withstand him. He more than once attacked and ravaged Cashgar ; in his wars with Georgia, he took a king prisoner, forced thousands to renounce the Christian faith, and entered Teflis, the capital city, in triumph ; Khorasm, the kingdom of Herat, Mazendran, and Fars⁹, he utterly subdued ; and

⁷ He is also called *Timur Beg* (Lord). Timur means iron ; for, though lame on the right side of a hand and foot, the Tartar conqueror was tall, strong, and active.

⁸ The kingdom of CASHGAR, or Little Bucharja, was a recent dismemberment of the Mogul empire. It lasted until it was overthrown, about the end of the seventeenth century, by the CALMUCKS, a race of Moguls still powerful in Tartary.

⁹ *Khorasm* had but lately thrown off the yoke of the khan

Bagdad was abandoned by its sultan:—his first invasion of Fars was made memorable by 70,000 skulls piled in ghastly heaps at Ispahan, to punish an outbreak of the town's people; the second, by the destruction of the Modhafferian princes. A vast host, led against him, A.D. 1388, by the khan of Kapjak (who wanted to restore the rule of the kindred house of Jagatai), was driven back with shame from his borders; and his vengeance was roused to cross a barrier of dreary wilds in which there was neither food nor water for his troops, and to overrun the country of the invaders, carrying away a countless number of slaves and much booty. In a second expedition, his victorious armies plundered as far as Moscow. Before long, bursting forth on another side, he scaled the rugged heights of the Indian Caucasus (the Hindoo Koosh), passed over the waters of the Indus, and through the land of the five rivers; then, having coolly put to death 100,000 prisoners who encumbered his march, he routed the soldiers and the dreaded elephants of the Patan sultan near Delhi, a city which, though spared for a while, he wantonly gave up to pillage and bloodshed, and set on fire, Jan. 1399. But when, in his zeal against the idolatrous Gentoos, he had reached the country of the Upper Ganges; he suddenly retraced his steps, and returned to Samarcand, being on the eve of measuring his strength with that of the renowned sultan, Bajazet.

After quelling the insolence of his own son, *Miran Shah*, of Jagatai. *Herat* became a kingdom, about 1336, when that of Iran had broken up; the governor of Khorassan, of the family of the KURTS, having made himself independent. In *Fars*, the native MODHAFERIAN dynasty (of which Shiraz was the chief seat) established its rule, A.D. 1318: it soon split into four branches. In *Bagdad*, the ILKHANIAN offshoot from the Mogul princes of Iran reigned from 1336 to 1410, when Achmet (who had twice fled out of Bagdad from Tamerlane) was put to death by the Turkomans of the Black Sheep.

and chastising the Georgians a third time, again entering Teflis as a conqueror ; he began the war with the Ottoman sultan by besieging Sivas in Anatolia : the city was razed to the ground, and four thousand Armenians, its brave defenders, ruthlessly buried alive. He then turned aside to avenge the insults which he had received from the Egyptian Mamelukes : Aleppo was cruelly sacked, Nov. 1400 ; Damascus was reduced to ashes, Jan. 1401¹⁰ ; and most of Syria quickly wrested from them. Once, indeed, he was well-nigh overthrown by these brave and well-trained warriors ; but their dissensions at home paralysed their strength, and gave the advantage to their enemy. Arabian Irak was also again invaded : the Ilkhanian sultan, *Achmet*, fled a second time ; Bagdad was burned, Aug. 1401, and a pyramid of 90,000 skulls piled up amid its ruins.

The war with Bajazet was not forgotten. Having gathered together many myriads of his Tartars on the banks of the Araxes, Timur marched through Armenia into Asia Minor, and skilfully passing to the left of the Ottoman camp, pushed on to Angora, which he invested. Bajazet hastened to the relief of the beleaguered city ; but in the neighbouring plains, his might was broken, and himself taken prisoner¹, July 1402. The whole of Anatolia was now at the mercy of the conqueror ; who crowned his achievements by the storming of Smyrna, a town which still belonged to the Greeks, though the Turks had besieged it for years ; but displayed his wonted cruelty towards its heroic defenders. Not a house was left standing, not a living soul was spared.

The pride and power of Tamerlane was at its height : not only the Ottoman princes, but also the emperors of

¹⁰ To avenge the murder of Hossein ! Timur was a zealous adherent of the sect of Ali.

¹ He was captured by the titular khan of *Jagatai*, who held a command in Timur's army.

Constantinople, the Mameluke sultan of Egypt, and the king of Georgia, eagerly sought to disarm his fierceness by submission. Having returned to Samarcand, at the age of seventy, he thought, like Jenghis, of conquering China. He had not, however, been many days on his march, when a fever, brought on by fatigue, and made worse by the use of iced water, put an end to his life, April 1405.

A.D. 1405. Khalil succeeds Tamerlane.

1409. Khalil deposed (died 1415); Shah Rokh.

1446. Death of Shah Rokh.

1452. The Turkomans of the Black Sheep conquer part of Persia.

1468. Abusaid overpowered by the Turkoman Uzun Hassan.

1471. Uzun Hassan and the Turkomans of the White Sheep conquer Persia.

1498. Shahi-beg, khan of the Uzbeks, overruns Transoxiana.

1507. The Uzbeks take the rest of Transoxiana from the race of Timur.

1510. Shahi-beg defeated and slain by Ismaïl Sofi.

1501. *Ismaïl Sofi restores the Persian monarchy.*

1586. Shah Abbas I., the Great (died 1628).

1722. Hussein dethroned by the Afghans of Candahar.

1730. Nadir overpowers the Afghans.

1736. Nadir Shah proclaimed khan of Persia.

1747. Death of Nadir Shah. Achmet the Afghan founds the Durani empire.

1760. Kerim khan reigns over Western Persia.

1797. Death of Aga Mohammed. Fath Ali Shah.

1823. The Durani empire dismembered.

1838. Siege of Herat raised.

1839. Sujah ul Mulk restored.

The power which Tamerlane had founded and upheld by bloodshed, was not lasting. His wars, which for a time had crushed so many nations, were for the most part rather inroads than conquests; and the feuds of his children and grandchildren caused even the most stable portion of his empire to fall to pieces. When, indeed, the sceptre of

Persia and Transoxiana had dropped out of the hands of his grandson and successor KHALIL², A.D. 1409, his fourth son, SHAH ROKH³, reigned with some glory; but after the death of that able prince, A.D. 1446, the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, whom the Moguls had humbled but could not destroy, soon became masters of a great part of Persia. That country was entirely lost by the race of Timur, when ABUSAID (a grandson of Miran Shah) was taken prisoner and put to death, A.D. 1468, and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep themselves were overpowered by the Turkomans of the White Sheep under *Uzun Hassan*.

Before the end of the century, Transoxiana was overrun by the Uzbeks from the north, under *Shahi-beg* (a chieftain descended from the khans in Turan of the line of Jenghis); and in a few years, all the princes of Timur's house were either slain or driven out from their possessions. *Shahi-beg*, whose successors reigned in Bochara, was himself defeated and killed, A.D. 1510, when fighting against Ismail Sofi, the conqueror of the Turkomans and the founder of a new dynasty in Persia⁴.

² Khalil (who had been preferred to his uncles and even to his father, Miran Shah) was a mild and generous prince; but his want of economy, and the way in which he was ruled by his wife, *Shadi Mulk* (a woman who had been another man's slave), cost him his throne. He was deposed by some of his turbulent chieftains, A.D. 1409; and after some years, being weary of living away from his love, he went and obtained her from Shah Rokh, who also gave him the government of Khorassan. There he died shortly afterwards, A.D. 1415, and likewise *Shadi Mulk*, who stabbed herself in despair at his loss.

³ *Shah Rokh* (the move in chess when the Shah, or king, is checked by the Rook) was the name given to his new-born son by Tamerlane, who, besides other accomplishments, was a good chess-player. Chess is a game of Eastern origin: the words "check-mate" mean that the Shah is dead.

⁴ PERSIA.—In the beginning of the sixteenth century, ISMAIL SOFI rose at the head of the descendants of Ali,—whom he claimed as an

The Great Moguls of India.

A. D. 1498. Baber expelled by the Uzbeks from Ferghana.

1526. Baber founds the *Mogul empire in India*.

1530. Hamayun succeeds Baber.

1540. Hamayun flees to Persia.

1555. Hamayun recovers Delhi.

1556. Akbar I., the Great.

ancestor, and whose sect he established,—and took the title of Shah. The Turkomans of the White Sheep, and their prince, *Murad Beg*, were in a few years completely overpowered by Ismaïl ; but the latter and his immediate successors had a hard struggle with the Uzbeks and with the Ottoman Turks. Khorassan, however, was recovered from the Uzbeks, and the Turks repelled, by SHAH ABBAS I., *the Great* ; who ascended the throne, A. D. 1586, and towards the close of his reign (May 1622), with the aid of the English, took Ormuz from the Portuguese. His degenerate descendant, HUSSEIN, was deposed and put to death, A. D. 1722, by the Afghan chiefs of Candahar (which had revolted from him some years before) ; whose third son, THAMAS, fled for refuge among the pastoral tribes of Khorassan, where his cause was warmly espoused by a young robber chief named *Nadir*. Nadir, who now called himself Thamas Kuli Khan (*the noble slave of Thamas*), after retaking Ispahan, at length conquered the Afghans, Jan. 1730 : he then soon deposed and blinded Thamas ; and, on the suspicious death of his son, usurped the crown of the Sofis, March 1736.

NADIR SHAH, one of the finest and tallest of men, the vanquisher of the Afghans, the scourge of India, and the dread of the Ottoman Turks, made himself hateful by his cruelties, and was assassinated in his tent, at Meshed in Khorassan, by some of his chieftains, June 1747. In the confusion which followed, the kingdom of Persia was divided. Achmet Shah Abdalla, an Afghan chief, was crowned king of Candahar and Cabul in the East, Oct. 1747 ; and, in the Western provinces, a number of khans rose and fell, until KERIM KHAN established his throne at Shiraz, A. D. 1760. This dynasty, however, did not last long ; and before the end of the century, the eunuch AGA MOHAMMED had become master of Western Persia. This person, who reigned at Tehran (the present capital), was murdered, A. D. 1797, and FATH ALI SHAH, his nephew, succeeded to his power ; who recovered most of Khorassan from the Afghans, but was less successful against Russia, into which empire Georgia and other districts were now incor-

- A. D. 1576. The Moguls conquer Bengal.
 1605. Jehanghire.
 1628. Shah Jehan.
 1651. Rise of the Mahratta power under Sevajee.
 1658. Aurungzebe deposes his father.
 1680. Death of Sevajee.
 1707. Death of Aurungzebe.

BABER, a grandson of Abusaid and fifth in descent from Timur, was one of the princes in Transoxiana who were swept down by the tide of Uzbek invasion. Driven out,

porated. When Fath Ali died, A.D. 1834, his grandson, MOHAMMED SHAH, formed the design of conquering Afghanistan (which might eventually have opened the direct road into India to the Russians); and in Dec. 1837, Herat was besieged. The Afghans, however, were encouraged by the English to hold out: at the end of nine months, the Persians raised the siege and retreated.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Afghan or Durani (*Pearl*) kingdom of ACHMET SHAH ABDALLA had risen into importance, while Persia was distracted by civil wars. But, in the beginning of this century, it was weakened by the feuds of brothers who struggled for a sceptre which they could only hold at the pleasure of the chiefs of the Barukzie tribe (who had become too powerful for subjects); and in the year 1823, owing to the victories of the Sikhs, it was broken into fragments. It was, however, restored, A.D. 1839, and the ill-fated SHAH SUJAH, one of the deposed princes, after many years of exile, placed on the throne, when the English had entered Afghanistan to check the designs of the Persians: the storming of Gazna had daunted the supporters of *Dost Mohammed*, the most powerful of the hostile chiefs. At the end of the year 1841 occurred the treacherous rising at Cabul, in which sir *Alexander Burnes*, and afterwards sir *William M'Naghten*, the British diplomatic agents, perished; and in the following January, general *Elphinstone* agreed to evacuate Cabul. The severity of the weather, and the attacks of the faithless Afghans, destroyed most of the 5000 men (many of whom were sepoys) who tried to retreat to Jellalabad, a place where the gallant sir *Robert Sale* held out against all the efforts of the enemy. Cabul, before long, was invaded by the armies of *Pollock* and *Nott*, who, having inflicted severe chastisement upon the Afghans, and forced them to give up their captives, at last withdrew from the country, leaving it a scene of anarchy.

when a mere stripling, from his domains in Ferghana on the Sihon, northward of Samarcand, by Shahi-beg ; he went through a number of strange reverses, now boldly seizing kingdoms and gathering together large armies, now wandering an outcast with hardly a hundred followers. The troubled state of Cabul and Candahar at length invited him to get the rule over the hardy tribes of those mountain countries ; and thence, " placing his foot-step in the stirrup of resolution " (as he phrased it), he set out, at the head of 13,000 horse⁵, on his march to conquer India. By dint of bravery and skill, he overpowered the masses which were opposed to him in the field ; Ibrahim Lodi, the last of the slave sultans, was vanquished and slain when he strove to retrieve his losses, April 1526, and the dynasty of the Moguls was triumphantly enthroned in Delhi.

The Patan chiefs, aided by the Rajpoots (the bravest of the Hindoos), now banded together to crush the handful of men who had achieved this conquest. Baber's soldiers were panic-struck at the tidings ; but their leader was as firm as a rock. Scorning the advice to retreat, he declared that " the voice of honour was loud in his ear ; " and having made his men swear on the Koran to conquer or die, he encountered the host of his foes, and won another of his astonishing victories. The rest of his reign was short and stormy : he died at Cabul, Dec. 1530⁶.

His son HUMAYUN, a prince remarkable for his scientific tastes, reigned with some glory, until his mildness encouraged two of his ungrateful brothers to dispute his right to the throne. *Shere Khan*, a Patan chief who ruled in Bengal, took advantage of these unhappy feuds, and re-

⁵ A body of musketeers and a train of artillery made up for the smallness of his numbers.

⁶ Like Tamerlane and other princes of his race, Baber was a highly accomplished prince. His latter years, however, were disgraced by habits of hard drinking.

covered the whole of Northern India from the Moguls, A.D. 1540. Humayun, after many dangers and sufferings, fled to Persia; and was not only harboured by the Shah, but (on his joining the sect of Ali) was furnished with ten thousand men, and eventually enabled to wrest Candahar and Cabul from his brother *Camiran*. A few months before his death, he was strong enough to attack *Secunder*, a nephew and one of the successors of Shere Khan (whose rule had been a blessing to the people), and to regain the empire which he had lost. A fall, down the marble steps of his palace at Delhi, by which he was greatly bruised, brought his chequered life to a close, Jan. 1556.

The next of the Mogul sovereigns, the wise and heroic *AKBAR the Great*, succeeded his father at the early age of thirteen. During a long and glorious reign of fifty-one years, he established order, put down rebellion, reduced Guzerat, and conquered Bengal, Sind, Cashmere, and a considerable part of the Deccan. On the death of Akbar, Oct. 1605, his only son *Selim*, better known by the title of *JEHANGHIRE* (or *Conqueror of the World*),—in whose days the English first settled themselves in India,—inherited a crown which he had no little trouble to keep. For though he was by no means unwarlike, the easiness of his temper, and his weak fondness for *Nur Jehan* (a woman whom he had married after the foul murder of her husband, a gallant chieftain), brought upon him many shameful disasters; his children and his nobles became rebels, and not unseldom in self-defence. He died, Nov. 1605, and the throne was seized by *SHAH JEHAN*, the elder of his surviving sons[†];

[†] He had, some years before, caused the assassination of his elder brother, who had been twice guilty, like himself, of rebellion: he now put to death his only remaining brother (the son of Nur Jehan), and all his nephews. It was Shah Jehan who built at Agra, in honour of his favourite queen, the Taj Mahal, the finest mausoleum in the world.

who yet more fully humbled the princes of the Deccan, and ably and righteously wielded the sceptre which he had gotten by bloodshed.

Shah Jehan was deposed in his old age by his son AURUNGZEBE, Aug. 1658; and the rest of his days were passed in strict, but honourable confinement. The usurper, —an austere man, who seemed to live only for business and work, and who (unlike his half-infidel predecessors) was a zealous and rigid Moslem,—by his boldness, skill, cunning, and treachery, overpowered and destroyed his brothers: he also added to his dominions Golconda and other kingdoms of the Deccan; so that nearly the whole of India was now ruled by a single monarch. The empire of the Moguls had reached its greatest height under Aurungzebe; after his death, Feb. 1707, it fell rapidly into decay. The bigotry with which he pulled down the temples and outraged the religion of the Hindoos, stirred up feelings of hatred and discontent which were most favourable to the progress of the Mahratta power, which the chieftain *Sevajee*^s had lately founded; and, moreover, though he

^s The MAHRATTAS, who got possession of central India, and struggled with the Afghans, and afterwards with the English, for the mastery, were the warlike population of the hills and fastnesses of the north-western provinces, which the Mahometans could never wholly subdue. They found a leader in SEVAJEE, a robber chieftain of great cunning and daring, who, after long defying the power of Aurungzebe, ended by assuming the crown: their light cavalry intermixed with infantry (forming an army, which was supported by pillage, and increased as it went on), would sweep over a wide extent of country, being too rapid to be easily pursued, and quickly rallying after defeat. Sevajee died, April 1680, at the age of fifty-three; and by the middle of the next century, though his descendants still reigned, the real authority was held by the *Peishwa* (or general) at Poonah. In the course of time, the Peishwa himself was endangered by the power of two of his feudatories, the representatives of the chieftains *Sindia* and *Holkar*; and he was led to listen to the overtures of the celebrated marquis of *Wellesley*, and to purchase the aid

was ever ready to redress wrongs and grievances, the provinces groaned beneath the crushing tyranny of greedy, grasping, overbearing ruffians, who, from being slaves, had risen to be governors. The court, indeed, was rich with barbaric splendour ; but the tiller of the soil was ruined.

A.D. 1707. Shah Allum I.

1709. War with the Sikhs.

1712. Death of Shah Allum I. The Moguls rapidly decline.

1719. Mohammed Shah.

1735. The Mahrattas overrun the Mogul empire.

1739. Nadir Shah pillages Delhi.

1748. Death of Mohammed Shah. Ambitious policy of Dupleix.

1754. Recall of Dupleix.

1761. Battle of Panniput.—Surrender of Pondicherry, and overthrow of the French power in India.—Shah Allum II.

of the East India Company by submitting to receive and maintain a British subsidiary force, Dec. 1802. This famous treaty of Bassein, which sealed the fate of India, instantly caused a war with *Dowlut Rao Sindia*: the contest was remarkable for the victories of general, afterwards lord Lake, by which Delhi and Agra and the possession of the Mogul's person were secured to the English ; and for the moral effect caused in favour of European prowess, when general *Arthur Wellesley* (since better known as Wellington), with only 4500 men, routed a host of 50,000 Mahrattas, Sept. 1803. Sindia being soon forced to make peace, war was next waged with *Jencunt Rao Holkar*, the southern chief ; who, when overpowered by Lake and other English generals, unexpectedly obtained fair terms, Dec. 1805, owing to the sudden change in the policy of the Company, which had shrunk from the marquess of Wellesley's vast schemes of conquest and subsidiary alliance. In the year 1817, a second Mahratta war broke out while the English were engaged in a contest with the Pindarees (roving bands of robbers which had swelled into formidable armies). The Pindarees were hemmed in and crushed ; the youthful heir of Holkar was forced to receive a British auxiliary force ; and the Peishwa, twice put to flight, had to resign his authority to the Company. To soothe the pride of the Mahrattas, the rajah of *Sattara*, the descendant of Sevajee, was restored to some share of his former dignity.

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SHAH ALLUM I., the eldest son of Aurungzebe, after a short struggle with his ill-fated brothers (in which he himself was blameless), for five years ruled a kingdom which his virtues could not save. Unable to put a stop to the inroads of the Mahrattas, he availed himself of an offer to which the pride of his father would not stoop to listen: the "chout," or fourth part of the revenue of some of his finest provinces, was given to redeem them from being ravaged by these rovers. He also withstood and repelled the fierce onslaught of the Sikhs⁹; a sect of devotees whom

⁹ The SIKHS are the disciples or followers of *Nanak Shah*, a contemporary of Baber. This Guru (or Spiritual Guide), who was born at Lahore, A.D. 1469, sought to blend the jarring creeds of the Hindoo and the Moslem by teaching a species of deism, pure indeed from idolatry, but mingled with absurdities borrowed from the religions which he wanted to supersede. He also preached toleration and abhorrence of war, doctrines which were laid aside by his sect when one of their Gurus was put to death by a Mahometan governor of Lahore, and Aurungzebe had persecuted them: in fact, *Govind Guru* (the tenth and last of the Gurus, who, after going through many reverses, died bereft of reason) quite changed the character of the religion, and converted the Sikhs into a military community. In the year 1709, Aurungzebe being dead, the Sikhs under *Banda*, who had succeeded to the temporal authority of Govind Guru, burst upon the Mogul empire; but, though irresistible at first, they were ultimately repelled, their leader being put to death and numbers of them exterminated. Those who escaped, found refuge in the hills; whence they again issued forth at the time of Nadir's invasion, plundering both parties, and seized their old seat at Amritsir in Lahore. There they had to struggle with the Afghans: but after the death of Achmet Shah Abdalla (June 1773), by whom they had more than once been driven out of the plains, Lahore was overrun and conquered by them. In the beginning of the next century, the Maharajah *Runjeet Singh* (born Nov. 1780), who succeeded his father at an early age, gained the ascendancy over all the other chiefs; and he not only made himself master of the Punjab, but likewise gained much territory from the Afghans. Though commanded by the English to retire, when he had crossed the Sutlej and would have extended his dominions eastward, he saw the necessity of being their firm ally; but when he

the bigotry of Aurungzebe had driven to take shelter in the fastnesses of the Himmalayan border, where they had grown into a nation of warriors.

When Shah Allum died in his camp at Lahore, Feb. 1712, the last gleams of the old glory of the Moguls may be said to have faded away. Four of his successors were little better than crowned pageants : the fifth, MOHAMMED SHAH (who was raised to the throne, Sept. 1719), threw off the thralldom in which the chiefs had held him, only to show how unfit he was to reign. In his days, the empire was overrun and pillaged by the Mahrattas, whom, when beaten, his folly had allowed to rally ; it was trampled upon by the Persian robber *Nadir Shah*, who burst upon India to avenge the murder of an ambassador sent to claim some Afghan fugitives. Nadir, having routed the army of the Moguls, managed to get the weak prince himself into his power ; he then pushed forward and entered Delhi, March 1739, where he requited some rash outrages of the people, by ordering a wholesale massacre : the city, rich with the spoils of India, was also rifled of its treasures, about thirty-two millions in money and jewels being carried away. In 1761, his large army, disciplined by European adventurers, became unmanageable, and his kingdom was distracted by a succession of revolts and murders, during which the supreme power rapidly changed hands. A collision with the English was the result of this anarchy. The Sikhs crossed the Sutlej, Dec. 1845 ; but after losing the hard-fought battles of Moodkee (in which sir Robert Sale was killed), Ferozeshah (in which the governor-general sir *Henry*, afterwards lord *Hardinge*, acted as second in command to sir *Hugh Gough*), Aliwal (won by sir *Harry Smith*, Jan. 1846), and Sobraon, Feb. 1846, they were completely overpowered. Gough and Hardinge entered Lahore, where they dictated terms to the vanquished. The peace did not last long. Another dreadful war broke out, which was terminated by lord Gough's victory at Goojerat, Feb. 1848, about a month after a bloody and indecisive action at Chillianwallah. The dynasty of Runjeet now ceased to reign, and the Punjab was annexed to the British possessions.

away by its ruffian captors. After thus wreaking his vengeance, he contented himself with exacting the cession of the country west of the Indus, and returned home.

During the confusion which followed, the governors of the provinces became virtually independent of their sovereign, and the native *rajahs*, or tributary chieftains, threw off the yoke of the stranger¹: the conflicts to which these changes gave rise, afforded a ready opening to the ambition of the French and English, who of late had gained the influence which the Portuguese and the Dutch² had once enjoyed. And when the luckless Mohammed Shah was dead, April 1748, his successors (whose little remaining authority was wielded by their insolent ministers), even within the walls of the ill-fated capital, were the helpless prey of the Afghans and Mahrattas, who now struggled for the mastery in India. The Afghans were at length driven out of Moulton and Lahore by their rivals: but *Achmet Abdalla*, their energetic king, quickly crossed the Indus again, and was joined by several Mahometan chiefs; fought his way to Delhi; and at Panniput completed the discomfiture of the Mahrattas, Jan. 1761. Like Nadir, however, he only kept his conquests on the western side of the Indus; and

¹ Besides the SIKHS and MAHRATTAS, were the subahdar (governor of the province) of the DECCAN, at Hyderabad,—called the Nizam (*Nizam ul Mulk*, the minister of Mohammed Shah, being the founder of the dynasty); the nabob (nawáb, or deputy) of Oude, at Lucknow; the subahdar of BENGAL; the nabob of the Carnatic, or ARCOOT; the ROHILLAS, Afghan refugees from Rho, who established themselves at Rohilcund; the RAJPOOT princes of Ajmere; the rajah of the MYSORE, at Seringapatam; and the JAUTS (a Scythian race from Moulton, whose fortress at Bhurtpore defied the English during the war with Holkar in 1805; but was afterwards stormed by lord Combermere, Jan. 1826). All these eventually became either the tributaries or the subjects of England.

² The achievements of the Portuguese and the Dutch in India will be described elsewhere.

the empty title of Great Mogul was left to SHAH ALLUM II., the son of an emperor who had been murdered about a year before this invasion, since which time the throne had been vacant.

The same month in which the career of the Mahrattas was checked at Panniput (Jan. 1761), was also remarkable for the surrender of Pondicherry to colonel, afterwards sir *Eyre Coote*, by the unfortunate Count *Lally*. This was the last downfall of that ascendancy which the daring genius of the mercantile ruler *Dupleix* had striven to win for France in the south of India³.

³ The earlier efforts of the FRENCH in the East were wasted in fruitless attempts to colonize Madagascar. These were renewed for a short time, and the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius planted by the new East India company founded in 1664, under the auspices of the minister *Colbert*; and after an unsuccessful attempt in 1668 to establish a factory at Surat, and much opposition from the Dutch, several thriving settlements were formed in India, of which Pondicherry was the chief. In the middle of the next century, when France was at war with England, M. de la *Bourdonnaie*, the governor of Bourbon, managed to form an efficient squadron, with which he bombarded Madras, Sept. 1746, and forced it to capitulate: his only reward was imprisonment on his return home. This was owing to the jealousy of *Dupleix*, who unscrupulously kept Madras in spite of the agreement that it was to be ransomed, and afterwards gallantly defended Pondicherry against the English under admiral *Boscawen*, from the end of August to the middle of October 1748. The treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle now caused Madras to be restored.

Dupleix had by this time conceived his grand scheme of building up an empire for France in India; and the death of the nabob of *Arcot* that year, and of the renowned Nizam ul Mulk, in 1749, had given rise to wars of succession in the Carnatic and in the Deccan, which, after several changes of fortune, enabled him by dint of skill, boldness, treachery, and the valour of his troops, to turn the scale, and place his own creatures on two important thrones. Under the able management of M. de *Bussy*, the French resident, the new subahdar of the *Deccan* was made to reward *Dupleix* with the government of all the country south of the Kistna, A.D. 1750: several districts, and

A. D. 1756. Surajah Dowlah takes Calcutta.

1757. *Battle of Plassey*; Meer Jaffier subahdar of Bengal.
Clive founds the Anglo-Indian Empire.

1761. Shah Allum recognises Meer Cossim as subahdar.

1764. Battle of Buxar; Shah Allum goes over to the English.

1765. Lord Clive's treaty; Shah Allum grants Bengal to the English.

1767. War with Hyder Ali (ends 1769).

1771. Shah Allum leagues himself with the Mahrattas.

1772. Warren Hastings governor of Bengal (governor-general 1774).

1773. The English withhold from the Mogul the annual tribute.

eventually the Northern Circars, were also ceded to the French. These successes alarmed the English, and roused them to give aid to *Mohammed Ali*, the son of the nabob of Arcot whom Dupleix had overpowered. Mohammed Ali, who was then besieged in Trichinopoly, A. D. 1751, was only saved by a diversion planned and executed by the celebrated Robert Clive, an intractable Shropshire youth, who had obtained leave to change the mercantile for the military service of the company: with a mere handful of men, Clive seized upon Arcot, and held it against all the efforts of a formidable army. Fresh successes were won by the allies, and Mohammed Ali was soon strong enough to crush his rival. Moreover, the government at home shrunk from the bold policy of Dupleix: he was recalled, A. D. 1754; and a treaty was concluded with the English, by which the French agreed to restore to the natives all the possessions which had been lately extorted from their weakness.

When, however, the seven years' war broke out, a last effort was made to regain the ascendancy which had been lost. Count Lally, an eccentric officer of Irish extraction, distinguished for his bravery at Fontenoy, and for his deep hatred against England, landed in India, April 1758, and destroyed Fort St. David, the strongest of the British settlements. But he failed the next year in the siege of Madras, and was beaten by col. Coote at Wandewash, Bussy (whom he had foolishly recalled from the court of the Deccan) being taken prisoner; his rashness and overbearing conduct provoked the enmity both of the French and natives; and he was at last obliged to surrender Pondicherry itself, Jan. 1761, and return home to be unjustly put to death by the parliament of Paris for high treason. Pondicherry was restored at the peace of Paris, and has since been repeatedly taken and given back.

- A. D. 1780. Second war with Hyder Ali (ended by Tippoo, 1784).
 1785. Warren Hastings resigns.
 1790. War with Tippoo (ended 1792).
 1799. *Seringapatam* taken ; Tippoo slain.
 1804. Shah Allum becomes the pensioner of the English.
 1807. Shah Allum dies.

Shah Allum II. was a sovereign only in name. All his efforts to assert the supremacy which his family had lost, ended in his being a tool and a captive ; and the last poor remains of his power were swallowed up in that empire which the English had founded but a few years before his accession.

The English East India Company⁴—which had long

⁴ The ENGLISH East India Company was first established in the reign of Elizabeth, A. D. 1600 ; and about a century afterwards, a rival company, somewhat faithlessly chartered by William III. (A. D. 1698), was wisely amalgamated with it. Its chief factories were Bantam (in Java), and Surat : it could not, however, keep its footing in the Spice Islands ; owing to the jealousy of the Dutch, by whom the factory at Amboyna was foully destroyed, several of its members being forced by torture to plead guilty of an alleged conspiracy, and beheaded, A. D. 1624. About the middle of the century, Fort St. George, erected near Madraspatam, became the nucleus of the future presidency of Madras ; and in the year 1687, Bombay (granted to the Company, A. D. 1668, by Charles II., being unprofitable to the crown) was made a presidency instead of Surat, a factory exposed to the exactions of the Moguls and the forays of the Mahrattas. At that time, the English had been on the point of being driven out of India by Aurungzebe, whom they had rashly attacked in Bengal : his anger was soothed by a most humble submission. But in the year 1698 the district of Calcutta was bought in Bengal, and Fort William erected, which was soon made the seat of a presidency (A. D. 1707) ; and thus were the three centres now fixed, from which the sway of England in the East was to spread itself.

The acquisition of an empire proved more embarrassing than profitable to the Company : it was well-nigh ruined by the heavy expenses of its wars, the rapacity of its servants, the exorbitant dividends claimed by its proprietary, and the jealousy of the government, which longed to have a share in the spoils of India. Lord

existed as a trading body with factories and districts belonging to it, and had lately taken a leading part in the wars and troubles of the southern provinces—made its first grand conquests in Bengal, where it had previously enjoyed remarkable privileges gained by the skill of its medical servants from the gratitude of the Great Moguls and their viceroys. *Surajah Dowlah*, a worthless young subahdar, jealous of the strangers and eager to seize their wealth, had begun this war by a furious onslaught upon Fort William, or Calcutta, the Company's chief station; the place had fallen an easy prey, being weak, ill-garrisoned, and early deserted by *Drake*, its incapable governor, June 1756; and the deadly horrors of the "Black Hole," in which a helpless crowd of European prisoners were shut up all night, had left a fearful stain upon the memory of the conquerors. An armament sent from Madras, under admiral *Watson* and the renowned colonel *Robert Clive*, had afterwards recovered Calcutta, Jan. 1757; and *Surajah Dowlah*, thoroughly alarmed, had even agreed to an alliance with his former enemies, who, however, in spite of

Clive, sent out to Bengal as governor to reform abuses, A.D. 1765, had to contend with a mutiny of the military officers, who were upheld by the money and interest of the civilians; yet his firmness put an end to the exaction of presents from the native chieftains, and the monopoly of the internal trade, by which large gains were made in both branches of the service, even warriors being engaged in traffic. The Reform Bill of lord *North*, A.D. 1773, regulated the constitution of the Company both at home and in India; it gave the presidency of Bengal, under a governor-general and four members of council, the superiority over the governors and councils of Madras and Bombay, and established a supreme court of justice at Calcutta. A yet more stringent measure was the India Bill of Pitt, A.D. 1784, which gave to a government Board of Control, consisting of six members, the duty of checking and overruling the administration of the Company's directors. At length the Company's monopoly was abolished, when its charter was renewed in 1833, and the trade to India and China thrown open.

his prohibition, attacked and reduced the French factory of Chandernagore. Having gone thus far, the daring Clive had resolved to depose the Indian prince and to set up a traitor chieftain, *Meer Jaffier*, in his stead : the plan was carried out with no small skill, but with very little regard to truth and honour¹. With hardly 4000 soldiers, and most of them sepoys (or native troops), the wily English warrior boldly advanced to Plassey, where Surajah Dowlah, with about 60,000 men and a large train of artillery, was encamped ; but on hearing tidings which gave him reason to mistrust his secret ally, he stopped and held a council of war, in which it was decided not to risk a battle. Eyre Coote alone had spoken in favour of fighting ; and his arguments had such weight with Clive, that after an hour's meditation, he crossed the river and began the action, June 23, 1757. It was fought rather languidly for some time, and was ended by the tardy desertion of Meer Jaffier, which spread panic through the enemy's ranks, and caused the flight of the cowardly Surajah Dowlah. Meer Jaffier was now declared nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa ; and his title was soon strengthened by the capture and death of his unfortunate master, and by the failure of an attempt of the nabobs of *Oude* and *Allahabad* to seize his dominions, on pretence of supporting a grant from the then reigning Mogul in favour of Shah Allum. These princes

¹ Meer Jaffier had engaged to exclude the French from Bengal, and to make a grant of territory to the English ; and to pay vast sums, not only to the Company, to the soldiers, and to the seamen, but also to Clive and to his colleagues. *Omichund*, a native who had been let into the secret, threatened to betray the plot. The unscrupulous Clive forthwith drew up two treaties, one real (in which nothing was said about Omichund), the other false, in which it was stipulated that Omichund should have two millions of rupees. Admiral Watson was too honourable to sign the fictitious document, and Clive had his handwriting counterfeited !—The discovery of the deceit made the wretched Omichund a madman.

had invaded Bahar ; and the English would have been involved in a dangerous war, but for the treachery of the nabob of Oude, who fell upon his ally the nabob of Allahabad, took his capital, and got him into his power : Shah Allum, bereft of resources, was glad to withdraw from the province on receiving a sum of money from Clive, A. D. 1759.—Meer Jaffier did not, however, reign long. He was a weak, indolent tyrant, and was forced by his ill-paid creditors the English, to resign the government to *Meer Cossim*, his energetic son-in-law, A. D. 1760. Meer Cossim, in the following year, was recognised as subahdar by Shah Allum himself, now Great Mogul ; who, with the aid of the nabob of Oude, had renewed his incursions, but had lately been defeated by major *Carnac*.

Shah Allum, or rather his vizir and real master, the nabob of Oude, was soon called upon to make war against the English by Meer Cossim ; who was too high-spirited to submit to the insolence of his foreign patrons, but had been repeatedly beaten by major *Adams*, and had fled into the country of Oude for help, A. D. 1763. The three princes invaded the British territory, but were repulsed by major *Carnac*, and retreated into Oude : the nabob-vizir, though strongly entrenched at Buxar, was subsequently defeated most signally by major (afterwards sir *Hector*) *Monro*, Oct. 1764,—a disaster followed by the desertion of the Mogul, who was weary of being treated like a state-prisoner,—and after several fierce conflicts, in which he was aided by Mahratta chiefs, was overpowered by major *Carnac* ; Meer Cossim escaped into the country bordering on the Indus. By a treaty now made, Aug. 1765, by lord Clive, who had returned from England as governor of Bengal, the nabob-vizir was re-instated in most of his dominions ; but the districts of Corah and Allahabad were assigned to Shah Allum, who was obliged to grant the Company the virtual sovereignty over Bengal, Bahar, and

Orissa, for which a tribute of twenty-six lacks of rupees was to be paid annually.

The hapless Shah Allum was not destined to live long in peace. Anxious to regain his capitals, he leagued himself a few years afterwards with some Mahratta chiefs, who indeed enthroned him in Delhi and Agra, Dec. 1771, but soon treated him like a slave. *Warren Hastings*⁶, who then wielded the power of England in India with an able but ruthless policy, now withheld the annual tribute, A. D. 1773, and taking possession of Corah and Allahabad, sold them to the nabob of Oude. While Hastings was making the influence of the Company paramount in Northern India, and *Cornwallis* and *Wellesley*, two of his illustrious successors, were subduing the Mysore⁷, Shah Allum, the

⁶ Warren Hastings (governor of Bengal, A. D. 1772) became the first governor-general of India, Oct. 1774. He was factiously thwarted by *Philip Francis* and two others besides of the four members of his council, who overruled his measures, recalled his political agents, and even encouraged *Nuncomar* and other natives to bring charges against him. The natural death of one of his opponents more than once gave him the casting vote for some months in the council; and the execution of *Nuncomar* for forgery, at the suit of a fellow-native, A. D. 1776, struck terror into the refractory Hindoos. Want of money, and the necessity of finding means to pay the Company's dividends, led this able man into many unprincipled transactions. He cruelly bargained to drive out the Rohillas from Rohilcund for the nabob of Oude, to whom he likewise sold the territories ceded by lord Clive to Shah Allum. Being involved in expensive wars, A. D. 1781, he faithlessly seized and plundered his ally, the rajah of *Benares*, who would not pay an extraordinary contribution; and he relieved the nabob of Oude's son and successor of part of the subsidiary force which he had to maintain, on receiving a large sum which was extorted from the *Begums*, his mother and grandmother, their trusty eunuchs being thrown into dungeons and tortured! His brilliant administration, beneficial, on the whole, to the natives as well as to the power of England in the East, ended in Feb. 1785.

⁷ The Mysore had been ruled by native rajahs, who had become tributary to the princes of the Deccan and afterwards to the Moguls,

nominal sovereign of the whole land, was dragging out a wretched existence, being half-starved, and at last deprived of sight ; so that when *Lake*, the English general, entered Delhi in the course of the Mahratta war, Sept. 1803, the

and whose power was at length wielded by their ministers. These last were supplanted by *Hyder Ali*, a Mahometan adventurer who had gathered around him an army of freebooters, and by his conquests soon caused such alarm, that the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the English combined against him, A.D. 1767 : he managed to gain over the allies of the English, and though he met with great losses, he suddenly retrieved them, and with a body of chosen cavalry, appeared within five miles of Madras, and dictated peace on his own terms, April 1769. His hatred to the English was afterwards much increased by their withholding aid when he was engaged in a deadly struggle with the Mahrattas ; and when they took Mahé from the French, his jealousy led him to renew the war, May 1780. He ravaged the Carnatic ; destroyed a whole detachment under the unskilful col. *Baillie* ; and reduced Arcot, being greatly aided by the dissensions and mismanagement of the authorities at Madras. Warren Hastings detached from him his Mahratta allies, and sent to Madras the veteran sir Eyre Coote, who with difficulty checked his career. Hyder died, Dec. 1782, but his son Tippoo Saib carried on the war for nearly two years more.

Tippoo, as highly educated as his father was illiterate, was a man of great ability, and beloved by his subjects, though cruel to his foes, passionate, bigoted, and strangely superstitious. He displayed great skill against the Mahrattas and the Nizam ; but was involved in a war with the English, which began in June 1790, and was ended by the marquess of Cornwallis, the English governor-general, who stormed his entrenched camp before Seringapatam, Feb. 1792. To save himself from ruin, he gave up half his dominions to the English and their allies, paid a heavy contribution, and delivered up two of his sons as hostages till the terms were fulfilled. An unlucky attempt, at the instigation of a gasconading captain of a privateer, to gain the aid of the French republicans by sending an embassy to the inconsiderate governor of the Mauritius, sealed his fate. The marquess of Wellesley, the new governor-general, sent general *Harris* with an army into the Mysore ; Seringapatam was invested and stormed, the attack being led by general *David Baird*, May 1799 ; and the body of Tippoo was found at the gateway of his palace amid

representative of the race of Timur was found seated beneath a small tattered canopy, bowed down with age and want and suffering. He welcomed the English as his deliverers; and in the following year they granted him Delhi and the neighbouring district, together with the small annual pension of 90,000 rupees,—advantages which, on his death, A.D. 1807, were inherited by his son. Thus fell the pride and wealth of the Moguls.

A.D. 1803. Mahratta War (ends 1805).

1814. Nepaulese War (ends 1816).

1817. War with the Peishwa and the Pindarees.

1824. Burmese War (ends 1826).

1839. Expedition to Afghanistan. Quarrel with China.

1841. Rising at Cabul.

1845, 1846. First War with the Sikhs.

1848. Second War with the Sikhs.

The marquess of Wellesley, in his wars with *Tippoo* and afterwards with the Mahrattas⁸, had displayed consummate skill in his policy towards the native princes, and breaking down every rival power, had established the influence of England from the Himmaleh mountains to Cape Comorin. He made the nabob of the *Carnatic* and the rajah of *Tanjore* give up their power, and content themselves with the outward pomp of royalty and large pensions; and he obliged his unwilling allies the nabob of *Oude* and the *Nizam* to cede large portions of their dominions, and to allow the rest to be occupied by a subsidiary force superior to their own in discipline and number⁹. Several provinces and districts

a heap of slain. Seringapatam and part of the Mysore were retained by the conquerors; another portion was given to the Nizam and their allies; and the rest was erected into a kingdom, which was bestowed on a descendant of the ancient rajahs.

⁸ See p. 97, end of note 8.

⁹ Such invariably was the fate of native princes long allied with the Company: they either became mere vassals, or were only allowed to retain the externals of power.

were also added to the English rule, when the marquess of *Hastings* was governor-general, by the wars with the mountain tribes of Nepaul, and with the Mahrattas and Pindarees ; similar results also followed from the contest with the Burmese in the time of lord *Amherst* ; and later days have witnessed fresh acquisitions from the humiliation of the Chinese and the deadly conflicts with the Afghans and Sikhs¹. Thus, in less than a hundred years, a vast empire has been won in India by the subjects of another country, who possess no inheritance in it, and to whom it is a place of gainful exile, and not a home.

SECTION VII.

(THE OTTOMAN TURKS.)

- A. D. 1299. *Athman and the Ottoman Turks attack the Greeks.*
 1326. The Turks take Prusa (Brusa). Orkhan.
 1333. The Turks take Nice (and Nicomedia, A. D. 1339).
 1346. Orkhan marries Theodora.
 1359. Solyman takes Gallipoli² ; death of Solyman.
 1360. Amurath I.
 1361. The Turks take Adrianople.
 1362. Amurath organises the Janizaries.
 1389. Amurath slain at Cossova.

The Ottoman Turks are said to have been a small wandering tribe once subject to the Khorasmians, which, after the death of Mankbarn, had entered into the service of the Seljukian sultans of Iconium, and had settled in the hill-country bordering on Phrygia and Bithynia. When the

¹ For the Mahratta and Pindaree Wars, see p. 97, end of note 8 ; for those with the Afghans, p. 93, part of note 4 ; and for those with the Sikhs, p. 99, end of note 9.

² The taking of Nice and Gallipoli are also dated, perhaps more correctly, A. D. 1330 and 1355.

last of the Seljukian kingdoms had fallen to pieces, and the power of the Moguls themselves was on the wane, **ATHMAN**, from whom the Ottomans have their name, was one of the ablest of the Turkish emirs who now ruled in Anatolia: he made himself master of Iconium; began to attack the Greek provinces in Asia, July 1299; and though the petty chief of a horde of shepherds and robbers, may be deemed the founder of a mighty empire. Just before his death, which took place Aug. 1326, the important city of Prusa had been wrested from the Greeks by his son and successor *Orkhan*; and in a few years, Nice, Nicomedia, and the whole of Bithynia were in the possession of the infidels, whose progress was greatly favoured by the dissensions and civil wars which then raged at Constantinople. The able but treacherous *Orkhan*, towards the close of his reign, sent his son *Solyman* across the Hellespont to the aid of the emperor Cantacuzene in his last quarrel with his worthless colleague³; and when his ally had withdrawn from the contest, the Ottomans lingered for some time in Thrace, and taking advantage of an earthquake which shook the walls of the cities, seized and rebuilt Gallipoli, the key of Europe from Anatolia. Soon after this success, *Solyman* was killed by a fall from his horse, July 1360, and was followed to the grave in a few months by his aged father.

AMURATH (or *Murad*) I., the younger brother of *Solyman*, now ascended the throne. He subdued the whole province of Romania from the Hellespont to mount Hæmus, the conquered city of Adrianople being chosen for his capital; he extended his rule over several of the Turkish emirs in Asia Minor, and made destructive inroads

³ *Amir*—son of the valiant *Aidin*, who had taken many places in Asia from the Greeks,—the lately deceased emir of *Ionia* had previously been the ally of Cantacuzene, whose daughter *Theodora* *Orkhan* actually married. Yet the latter was not so faithful to his father-in-law as *Amir* had been to his friend.

against the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians ; and by the institution of the Janizaries⁴,—a force recruited from the stoutest and finest of the captive youths who would abjure the faith of the cross,—he became almost irresistible in an age in which no Christian prince kept a standing army. Thus his brave, but loose and undisciplined squadrons of Asiatic cavalry, which fought without pay for the sake of plunder, had the support of a steady, well-trained body of infantry, formed from the hardy sons of the West ; so that “the arm of Europe was turned upon herself.” By their valour, on the bloody field of Cossova, Amurath overpowered *Lascaris*, the despot of Servia, and a confederate host of the Slavonian tribes ; but as he was afterwards viewing the scene of carnage, a Servian soldier started up from amid a heap of slain, and gave him a deadly wound, March 1389.

A. D. 1389. Bajazet I.

1391. Bajazet besieges Constantinople.

1393. First battle of Nicopoli.

⁴ Orkhan had first bethought himself of training his young captives as warriors ; but Amurath I. established the system which the second Amurath perfected. One-fifth of the captives,—in after-times, one-fifth of the children of Christian subjects,—was selected to be converted into Mahometan soldiers, some of the most promising being educated to fill the chief employments of the state. (From the forty *agas* who stood before the sultan, as long as the Ottoman government was in its full vigour, the grand-vizirs and the governors of provinces were chosen ; who were said to be as brittle “as statues of glass,” as they ruled with despotic power for a few years, or for a few months, until the bowstring of the Tartar who brought them the fatal “*firman*,” or imperial mandate, ended their career.) The formidable host, when first organized, was consecrated by a famous *dervish*, by whom it was called the Janizaries, or the New Soldiers. It did not, however, keep pace with the improvements of other armies ; and long before its dissolution in 1826, its discipline had relaxed, and it had become a rabble of armed ruffians, more dangerous to the sultan than to his enemies.

- A. D. 1396. *Battle of Nicopoli* ; Bulgaria reduced.
 1397. Second siege of Constantinople.
 1402. *Battle of Angora* ; Bajazet taken prisoner.
 1403. Death of Bajazet. Rivalry of Solyman, Musa, and Isa.
 1410. Death of Solyman. Mahomet I. reigns in Asia Minor.
 1413. Death of Musa. Mahomet I. restores the Ottoman empire.
 1418. Revolt of Mustapha.
 1421. Amurath II. Death of Mustapha.
 1423. Amurath II. besieges Constantinople.
 1442. Battle of Sophia. First abdication of Amurath.
 1443. Revolt of Scanderbeg.
 1444. *Battle of Warna* ; brief abdication of Amurath.
 1447. Amurath repulsed from Croya.
 1448. Second battle of Cossova. Amurath is again repulsed by Scanderbeg.
 1451. Mahomet II.
 1453. *The Turks take Constantinople.*
 1456. *John Huniades raises the siege of Belgrade.*
 1458. Corinth and Athens reduced.
 1462. Conquest of Trebizond.
 1467. Death of Scanderbeg.
 1470. The Venetians lose Negropont.
 1478. Mahomet takes Croya ; Albania reduced.
 1480. Siege of Rhodes. The Turks take Otranto.

BAJAZET I. (or *Ilderim Bayazid*⁵), the fiery son of Amurath, strengthened his power by strangling his brother *Yacub* : he also crushed the independent emirs in Asia Minor, and got a grant of the title of sultan from the caliph in Egypt, who was still looked upon as the head of the Mahometan religion. In Europe, he likewise conquered what yet remained to the Greeks in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, and more than once threatened Constantinople itself ; he overran Moldavia, Servia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria ; and at the famous hard-fought battle of Nicopoli, Sept. 1396, he routed *Sigismund*⁶ of Hungary

⁵ *Ilderim*, the "lightning," was an epithet given to describe the energy of his character and the rapidity of his conquests.

⁶ Sigismund had been defeated by the Turks at Nicopoli, about

and 100,000 warriors, among whom were some of the bravest knights of France, men who boasted that, if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances, and who, moreover, lost the day by their rashness. He now talked, in a like strain, of feeding his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome ; but his progress westward was checked by a fit of the gout, and from the siege of Constantinople, which he had again attacked, he was eventually called to withstand the onslaught of the Moguls upon Anatolia, and to measure swords with Tamerlane. On the plains of Angora, July 1402, Bajazet was hopelessly ruined : he fell into the hands of his rival, who is said to have cruelly confined him in an iron cage ; and died a captive, March 1403.

Although stricken down to the earth by this calamity, the might of the Ottomans was not destroyed. When the Moguls had evacuated Anatolia, the dismembered kingdom of Bajazet was torn by the feuds of his sons *Isa*, *Solyman*, *Musa*, and MAHOMET I., each of whom had seized a part of their father's dominions ; some of his recent conquests had also been restored to the emirs, and the Greeks now recovered a portion of their losses. But after ten years of confusion and civil war, during which three of the brothers perished, the unity of the empire was revived by the shrewd and prudent Mahomet I. ; whose rule, however, was disturbed by the pretensions of the real or false *Mustapha* (a son of Bajazet, said to have fallen at Angora), who suddenly made his appearance in Thessaly, and when defeated, was harboured by the Greeks. On the death of Mahomet, Feb. 1421, Mustapha endeavoured to dispute the succession of his youthful son ; but after a gleam of good fortune, he was taken and hanged.

three years before.—Among the prisoners now taken, and one of the few whose lives were spared, was the French marshal *Boucicault*, who afterwards revenged his captivity by defending Constantinople against Bajazet. The conquest of Bulgaria was also completed.

AMURATH II., after the fall of Mustapha, laid siege to Constantinople: the Greeks saved themselves by stirring up a revolt in Asia⁷, but were soon stripped of all that they had regained of late, and made to pay a yearly tribute. He also deprived the Venetians of Thessalonica, which they had recently purchased; and in Asia Minor, he overthrew the emir of Caramania. His rule, on the whole, was remarkable for justice, moderation, and good faith. Twice did this singular man give up his sceptre to his son *Mahomet*, that he might fast, and pray, and whirl himself round in giddy devotion among the dervishes at Magnesia; and twice, in the hour of danger, was he called upon by his son and the people to resume it.

By overrunning Servia, Amurath drew upon himself the hostility of the Poles and Hungarians, among whom its fugitive despot had found a refuge. Belgrade, which the despot had delivered up to them, they successfully defended; and *Ladislaus VI.*, their young and energetic king, marched forthwith into Bulgaria to attack the infidels, against whom pope *Eugenius IV.* had already preached a crusade. A series of victories, beginning with the battle of Sophia, Sept. 1442 (in all of which the valour of the "White Knight of Wallachia," *John Corvinus Huniades*, then vavvode of Transylvania, shone conspicuous), in a few campaigns obliged the Turks to restore Servia, and to conclude a truce for ten years. That truce was solemnly sworn to on the Gospel and the Koran; yet it was almost instantly broken by *Ladislaus*, who had been exhorted by the pope's legate, cardinal *Julian Cæsarini*, not to keep faith with the enemies of Christ. At the head of 20,000 Hungarians, *Ladislaus* advanced as far as *Warna* in Bulgaria, where he was met by an army of 60,000

⁷ Amurath, when this revolt was put down, now deprived his brothers, though guiltless children, of the life which endangered his peace.

Turks under Amurath, who had just emerged from his retreat in Magnesia⁸; and after a most desperate fight, in which the conquerors suffered immense loss (having at one time been well-nigh beaten), more than half of the Christians were slain, and among them the perjured king and the legate, his evil genius, Nov. 1444. The victorious sultan then again withdrew into seclusion; but the unruly janizaries needed a strong hand to keep them in order, and he was soon obliged to return and govern.

John Huniades, now elected regent of Hungary, saved his adopted country from the utter ruin with which it was threatened. On one occasion, however, when he had penetrated into Bulgaria, he was defeated by an overwhelming force at Cossova, after three days' hard fighting, March 1448; and he had to seek his way home alone, fresh perils awaiting him at every turn. Another thorn in the side of Amurath, was a deserter from his own camp, the Albanian *George Castriot*, better known by the Turkish name of *Scanderbeg*⁹; who seized upon the stronghold of Croya in his native mountains, and, abjuring the religion which he had learned as a captive, rallied all the tribes of his warlike countrymen around his standard, to conquer or to

⁸ Amurath had retired from the government in 1442. When he crossed over with his troops into Europe, the Greek emperor (who favoured Ladislaus) was frightened into betraying the passage of the Bosphorus; and the Genoese, or the pope's nephew who commanded the Genoese and Venetian ships, were bribed to neglect the guard of the Hellespont.—At Warna, when his superior forces were broken at the wings, Amurath, whose own flight was stopped by a veteran janizary who seized his horse's bridle, appealed to the God of truth and the prophet Jesus against his perjured foes.

⁹ Scanderbeg (*Iskender Beg*, the lord Alexander) was the son of *John Castriot*, an Albanian prince, who had been forced to place four of his children in the hands of the Turks. He rose to high rank in the Turkish service, which he treacherously deserted at the age of forty, to avenge the wrongs of his family and country.

die for freedom, A.D. 1443. His bravery and skill, together with the strength of his fastnesses, and the courage of his followers, long baffled all the attempts of the Turks to crush him ; and Amurath himself had twice to retreat with shame, when he undertook the task of reducing the rebel chief who had so daringly defied him.

MAHOMET II., on the death of his father, Feb. 1451, ascended the throne which he had more than once been forced to resign, and which he now secured by ordering the murder of his infant brothers. By this prince, who, though the slave of degrading passions, was a bold warrior, a wise ruler, and an accomplished scholar, the last deadly blow was quickly given to the tottering empire of the Greeks ; and after a siege of fifty-three days, Constantinople was taken by storm, May 29, 1453, and the Christian city of the Cæsars at length became the capital of the Moslems. In a few years, Corinth, Athens, part of the Morea, Bosnia, Servia, and the empire of Trebizond were conquered, and the whole of Europe was trembling with alarm. These fears proved groundless.

The first serious check sustained by Mahomet II. was at Belgrade, a place which, if captured, would have laid open the whole of Hungary : he was attacked by John Huniades, wounded, and forced to retreat in confusion, July, 1456. And though Negropont was conquered from the Venetians, and Albania completely reduced after the death of Scanderbeg¹; the Turks were repulsed with great loss from Rhodes by the gallant knights of St. John, Aug. 1480, a disgrace hardly covered by the acquisition of Otranto on the Calabrian coast, a place which they did not keep a

¹ Some victories were gained over the famous Turkoman Uzun Hassan, by Mahomet's son *Mustapha*, a prince whom his father afterwards caused to be strangled.—The Genoese were also expelled from Caffa, and the khans of the Crimea became tributary to the Turks.

twelvemonth. Mahomet is said, however, to have meditated the invasion of Italy, had not death cut short his career, May 1481.

A. D. 1481. Bajazet II.

1512. Deposition of Bajazet. Selim I.

1514. Selim defeats the Persians.

1516. Selim conquers Syria from the Mamelukes.

1517. *Selim conquers Egypt from the Mamelukes.*

1520. Solyman the Magnificent.

1521. Solyman takes Belgrade.

1522. Solyman takes Rhodes.

1526. *Battle of Mohacz.* Buda sacked.

1529. Buda retaken. Siege of Vienna.

1535. *Expedition of Charles V. to Tunis.*

1538. Yemen reduced by Barbarossa.

1565. The Turks repulsed from Malta.

1566. Selim II.

1571. Cyprus taken from the Venetians. *Battle of Lepanto.*

1574. Amurath III.

1578. War with Persia (ends 1589).

1592. The Hungarian War.

1595. Mahomet III.

1603. Death of Mahomet III. Decline of the Ottomans.

BAJAZET II., a prince of far less energy than his father, had to fight for his kingdom against his brother *Zizim*². He made some conquests in Bosnia, Bessarabia, and in Asia; but his weak reign is chiefly remarkable for his murdering two of his sons, and being at last deposed by a third, May 1512. His sensual life was brought to an end by poison.

SELIM I. overpowered his brother *Achmet*, to whom the throne had been destined by Bajazet II., and had him strangled. He distinguished himself by his successful war

² Zizim, or Jem, when worsted by his brother's generals, retired to Rhodes. The knights sent him over to France; and from France he was sent to the Pope, to be held as a hostage to keep Bajazet II. in check. While in Italy, he was poisoned.

with Ismail Sofi and the Persians ; and by the conquest of Egypt and Syria, and the overthrow of the Mameluke sultans, after which the last of the spiritual caliphs had to resign his authority into the hands of the conqueror, A.D. 1517. This great but savage sultan died, Sept. 1520, leaving an only son to succeed him.

SOLYMAN the *Magnificent*, encouraged by the troubles in Hungary³, turned his arms against the Christians. The fall of Belgrade, Aug. 1521, was his first triumph ; his next, and yet more glorious achievement was the taking of Rhodes from the knights of St. John, Dec. 1522 ; and the grandest of his victories, the fatal battle of Mohacz, Aug. 1526, in which *Lewis II.* of Hungary perished with most of his nobles, enabled the Turks to burn Buda and to spread havoc and desolation far and wide. In a second invasion, he again took Buda ; but when he pushed on into Austria, and laid siege to Vienna, he met with a terrible repulse, Oct. 1529. In his wars with the Persians, he conquered Irak Arabia and Bagdad ; and though, while he was thus engaged, the emperor *Charles V.* drove his pirate admiral *Heyradin Barbarossa* from Tunis, July 1535, the effects of the disaster were soon retrieved, and the reduction of Yemen afterwards added to the fame of *Barbarossa* and the power of his magnificent master. An attempt, however, to dislodge the knights of St. John from their new stronghold in Malta, ended in disgrace, Sept. 1565 : the valour of the grand master and his companions was not to be quelled by the fiercest assaults of the infidel warriors. The aged sultan now sought to revenge himself in

³ In the reign of *Matthias Corvinus*, the son of Huniades, Hungary had been able to maintain the supremacy over Moldavia and Wallachia. These provinces were now conquered by the Turks, who allowed them to be governed by Christian *kospodars*, or princes, the creatures of the Ottoman sultan, from whom they would receive a successor and the bowstring at a moment's warning.

Hungary, a country which he had never left in peace ; but his days were numbered. He died of a fever before the walls of Sigeth, Sept. 1566.

SELIM II., his son, made a truce with the Emperor. He did not, however, long abide by the peace which had been concluded with Venice ; but sent an armament against Cyprus, which took Famagosta, Aug. 1571, and reduced the whole of the island. On the other hand, the allied fleet of the Pope, the Venetians and the king of Spain, almost annihilated the Turkish navy at Lepanto, Oct. 1571,—⁴a victory which, though not followed up as it ought to have been, showed that the tide was now turning, and that the Ottoman crescent was on the wane. Selim II., who was a drunkard, died of a fit of apoplexy, Dec. 1574.

AMURATH III., Selim's eldest son, began his reign by having his five brothers slain before the eyes of their mothers. Listening to the prophecy of a fanatic, he plunged into a long and bloody struggle with the Persians, by which he gained most of Armenia ; to give employment to his unruly Janizaries, he afterwards undertook another war in Hungary, then under the weak rule of the emperor *Rodolph II.* Yet though he did not want courage, he was too indolent to take the field himself. On his death, Jan.

⁴ In this fight, 130 ships were taken, many destroyed, and more than 30,000 infidels were slain : 15,000 Christian galley slaves recovered their freedom. Don *John*, the bastard of Spain, who commanded as admiral, would have sailed at once to Constantinople, had he not been hindered by his council. The Greeks offered to revolt in his favour ; but *Philip II.*, his half brother, discouraged this, perhaps through jealousy, but probably not to offend the Venetians, the pretenders to "three-eighths of the Greek Empire."—Don John, contrary to orders, put a garrison in Tunis, which he had taken, thus hoping to found a Christian kingdom ; but the Turks soon overpowered the garrison, and likewise regained the fort called the *Goletta*, which the Spaniards had kept since the days of Charles V.

1595, ten of his slaves who were with child—since the day that the wives of Bajazet became the captives of Tamerlane, the Ottoman sultans hardly ever entered into the married state^s—were drowned, and nineteen of his male children strangled, by order of his successor, MAHOMET III., a son worthy of such a father. When the reign of that vicious but warlike sultan ended, Dec. 1603, the Ottoman empire, which had been declining since the death of Solyman the Magnificent, began visibly to decay. The sultans, brought up by women and eunuchs, inherited the vices without the military spirit of their fathers; the cares of government and the dangers of war were left to the charge of the grand vizirs; and the Janizaries, like all turbulent and ill-disciplined Prætorians, soon dared to dispose of the throne.

Decline of the Ottoman Empire.

- A. D. 1603. Achmet I.
- 1606. Truce with the Emperor and Hungary.
- 1611. Short peace with Persia.
- 1617. Mustapha I.
- 1618. Mustapha deposed; Osman I.
- 1621. Osman I. defeated by the Poles at Choczim.
- 1622. Osman I. strangled; Mustapha I. restored.
- 1623. Mustapha I. strangled; Amurath IV.
- 1638. Bagdad recovered from the Persians.
- 1640. Ibrahim.
- 1645. War with Venice; Candia attacked.
- 1649. Ibrahim strangled.

The reign of ACHMET I., who succeeded his father at the age of fifteen, was chiefly remarkable for the twenty years' truce with Hungary, Nov. 1603, in which the Emperor was no longer scornfully styled as the king of Vienna; and for the war with Persia, interrupted by a

^s The exceptions are, Amurath II., Mahomet II., and Solyman the Magnificent, who married his imperious mistress *Roxelana*.

short peace, in which *Shah Abbas the Great* won back the city of Tabriz and most of the Turkish conquests. When he died, Nov. 1617, his brother MUSTAPHA I.⁶ reigned for a few months; but was deposed as unfit to rule, March 1618, and a mere boy, his nephew OSMAN I., the son of the late sultan, chosen in his stead. The youthful prince, who during a brief but fierce war with the Poles had been defeated at Choczim in Moldavia, was eventually shut up in the Seven Towers by the revolted Janizaries, and strangled, May 1622: the worthless Mustapha now exchanged his dungeon for the throne, and met betimes with the same end, Sept. 1523.

AMURATH IV., the younger brother of Osman, was a lover of wine, and even allowed its free use to the Moslems by an edict which he was afterwards forced to repeal. He waged war with the Persians, and after several reverses wrested from them Irak Arabia, which had been recovered from the Turks by Shah Abbas: when Bagdad at length was stormed, Dec. 1638, he stained his victory by a ruthless massacre. On his death, which was brought on by hard drinking, Feb. 1640, IBRAHIM, a third brother, then in prison, became sultan; in whose reign, Azof was won from the Cossacks, and Candia, which still belonged to the Venetians, was vigorously attacked. The capital of the island held out for many years; so that Ibrahim never lived to see its reduction. His vices stirred up a revolt, and he was deposed and strangled, July 1649⁷.

A. D. 1649. Mahomet IV.

1660. Mehemet Kiuprili takes Lemnos and Peterwaradin.

1661. Achmet Kiuprili succeeds his father Mehemet as grand vizir.

1663. Achmet invades Hungary.

⁶ Mustapha had been spared, at Achmet's accession, when the rest of his brothers were put to death.

⁷ His death is commonly dated Aug. 1648.

- A. D. 1664. Battle of St. Gothard. Truce of Temeswar.
 1669. Achmet takes Candia.
 1672. War with Poland in behalf of the Cossacks.
 1673. John Sobieski gains the battle of Choczim.
 1676. End of the Polish War.
 1678. Achmet dies ; Kara Mustapha grand vizir.
 1683. *John Sobieski raises the Siege of Vienna.*
 1686. The Turks lose Buda.
 1687. Defeat of the Turks at Mohacz. Mahomet IV. deposed
 (died 1693) ; Solyman II.
 1690. The Venetians complete the conquest of the Morea.
 Belgrade (lost in 1688) retaken by Mustapha Kiuprili.
 1691. Achmet II. Battle of Salenkamen.
 1695. Mustapha II.
 1696. The Russians take Azof.
 1697. Prince Eugene defeats the Turks at Zentha.
 1699. Peace of Carlowitz.
 1702. Mustapha II. deposed.

MAHOMET IV., the eldest son of Ibrahim, was a boy about seven years old ; and his minority was a troubled one, until *Mehemet Kiuprili* (or *Kuprogli*, a name renowned in the Turkish annals) became grand vizir. *Mehemet Kiuprili* died, Oct. 1661, after having, somewhat more than a twelvemonth before, deprived the Venetians of Lemnos and the Emperor of Peterwaradin : his place was worthily filled by his son *Achmet*, who invaded Hungary with signal success, but being beaten at St. Gothard, Aug. 1664, agreed to a truce at Temeswar for twenty years. This last reverse Achmet afterwards more than retrieved by the reduction of Candia, Sept. 1669, though not without a frightful loss of human life.

A few years after this able minister had thus ended the war with the Venetians, the sultan himself marched in person to the aid of the Cossacks who had revolted against the Poles. Treachery hastened the fall of Kaminiec, the chief city of Podolia, Sept. 1672 ; and *Michael Corybut*, the dastardly Polish king, would have purchased a pre-

carious peace by dismembering his country, and submitting to pay tribute. This weak ruler of a turbulent people died when on the eve of being dethroned, and his heroic successor, *John Sobieski*—who had already caused the base treaty to be disowned, and had since routed the Turks at Choczim, Nov. 1673—won a succession of victories which induced his powerful enemies to grant far better terms at Zurawno, Oct. 1676^a. A yet greater deliverance was achieved by this renowned prince, when the restless *Kara*, or *Black Mustapha* (who after the decease of Achmet had been made grand vizir), broke the truce with the Empire, and besieged Vienna: he then formed a junction with the Imperialists, and fell upon the camp of the infidels, whose vast host fled away panic-stricken, leaving tents, baggage, artillery, every thing, in the hands of the Christians, Sept. 1683. The unhappy *Kara Mustapha* only escaped to be strangled and beheaded at Belgrade, at the command of his enraged master.

The Venetians now leagued themselves with the Poles and the Empire against the Turks; and while they were making conquests in Dalmatia, the Morea, and the Greek islands, the Imperialists recovered Buda, the long-lost capital of Hungary, Sept. 1686, and gained a great victory at Mohacz, not far from Eszek, Aug. 1687, which soon enabled them to reduce Transylvania and Sclavonia. These disasters stirred up such a storm of discontent, that Mahomet IV. was hurled from his throne, Nov. 1687. He died after some years of confinement, Jan. 1693.

The reign of *SOLYMAN II.*, the brother of the fallen sultan, was hardly more fortunate. The Venetians completely subdued the Morea; and though Belgrade and other places which had been lost were retaken by *Mustapha Kiuprili*, a new grand vizir who somewhat re-

^a The tribute claimed was given up; but the Poles lost Kaminiec and part of Podolia and the Ukraine.

tried the reputation of the Turks, there was a change again for the worse. Solyman would have been deposed in his turn, had he not died of a dropsy, June 1691; and before his brother ACHMET II. had reigned two months, the grand vizir, the hope of his country, was killed at Salenkamen in Hungary, and a victory turned into a defeat.

MUSTAPHA II., the son of Mahomet IV., who succeeded on the death of his uncle Achmet, found a new enemy in the Russians, by whom he was deprived of Azof; and what was yet worse, he had to witness the destruction of his own army at the Theiss, near Zentha in Hungary, by prince *Eugene*, Sept. 1697⁹. This calamity made him desirous of peace, which was accordingly concluded for twenty-five years at Carlowitz, Jan. 1699. The Emperor now got Transylvania¹ and most of Sclavonia; the Venetians kept the Morea and their other conquests; the Poles recovered Kaminiec and their late losses in Podolia; and the Russians remained in possession of Azof. The rest of Mustapha's reign was full of troubles, and he was at last deposed by the Janizaries, Sept. 1702. He outlived his fall about a twelvemonth.

A. D. 1702. Achmet III.

1710. War with Russia.

1711. The peace on the Pruth; Azof regained.

1715. The Morea reconquered from the Venetians.

1716. War with the Empire renewed; Battle of Peterwaradin.

1717. Defeat of the Turks at Belgrade.

1718. Peace of Passarowitz.

1721. War with Persia (ends 1727).

⁹ He had crossed with his cavalry over a temporary bridge, against which Eugene's artillery was ably directed; so that he could not return.

¹ For about a century and a half, the Transylvanians had, with the aid of the Turks, asserted their independence against the house of Austria.

- A. D. 1729. War with Persia renewed.
- 1730. Abdication of Achmet ; Mahmud I.
- 1736. Peace with Persia. War with Russia.
- 1737. War with the Empire.
- 1739. Peace of Belgrade.
- 1743. War with Persia renewed (ends 1746).
- 1754. Osman II.
- 1757. Death of Osman II.

ACHMET III., the brother of the dethroned sultan, was instigated by *Charles XII.* of Sweden (who had sought shelter in Turkey after his overthrow at Pultawa) to attack the Russians, whose ambassador was accordingly seized and shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers, Nov. 1710: the czar *Peter the Great* retaliated by invading Moldavia, having secretly made a league with *Demetrius Cantemir*, the newly appointed hospodar. But the Moldavians would neither follow the standard of Cantemir, nor supply the Muscovites with provisions; and when Peter had reached the Pruth, he was surrounded by the countless troops of *Baltagi* the grand vizir, cut off from food and water, and reduced to purchase his retreat by consenting to yield up Azof and the forts on the Black Sea, July 1711.

In the year 1715, the whole of the Morea was easily reconquered from the Venetians, its defences having been carelessly left by them in a ruinous state. Alarmed at the siege of Corfu (by which the safety of Naples was threatened), the emperor *Charles VI.* espoused the cause of his injured allies, on the ground that the peace of Carlowitz had been broken, May 1716; and the victories of Eugene at Peterwaradin, in which a grand vizir was killed, Aug. 1716², and at Belgrade, Aug. 1717, gained the peace of Passarowitz for twenty-five years, July 1718, together with the cession of the bannat of Temeswar in

² The tidings alone of this defeat broke up the siege of Corfu.

Hungary, Belgrade with part of Servia, and some districts in Bosnia and Wallachia. The Venetians, however, did not recover the Morea³. Achmet afterwards engaged in wars with Persia, during which Tabriz was retaken, and the claim of the Ottoman sultans to be the successors of the caliphs was for a short time acknowledged: at length he was forced, by a rising of the soldiery and the populace, to allow the imprisoned son of Mustapha II. to be girded with the scimitar of Athman, and to withdraw into seclusion, Oct. 1730. He died in confinement, June 1736.

MAHMUD I., the new sultan, tried to turn the distracted state of Persia to account: but after several changes of fortune, his generals were foiled by the valiant usurper Nadir Shah; and Tabriz, Georgia, and part of Armenia had to be given up when peace was concluded, Sept. 1736. A few months before that event, the incursions of the Crim Tartars had brought on a war with *Anne*, the czarina of Russia; whose armies reduced Azof, ravaged the Crimea, and at last invaded Moldavia. These successes were counterbalanced by the misfortunes of the emperor Charles VI., who had been encouraged to renew the struggle with his turbaned foes; so that at the disgraceful peace of Belgrade, Sept. 1739, not only was Belgrade itself finally surrendered to the Turks, but also the Austrian possessions south of the Danube and the Save (which included part of Servia and Wallachia). The czarina had also to restore her conquests⁴. There was afterwards another contest with Nadir and the Persians, in which Mahmud I. was again worsted. He died, Dec. 1754, and was succeeded by his brother, OSMAN II., whose weak, indolent reign ended in Oct. 1757.

³ The Emperor was anxious for leisure to oppose the ambitious designs of the Spaniards against Naples, and thus the Turks got better terms.

⁴ She was, however, allowed to demolish the fortifications of Azof.

- A. D. 1757. **Mustapha III.**
 1768. War with Russia.
 1769. Azof retaken by the Russians. Moldavia and Wallachia invaded.
 1770. Revolt in the Morea. Exploits of the Russian fleets in the Channel of Scio and in the Bay of Chesmé.
 1771. The Russians conquer the Crimea.
 1773. Egypt tranquillized after the fall of Ali Bey.
 1774. Abdul Hamid. Peace of Kaynargi.
 1783. Crimea annexed to Russia.
 1787. Second war with Catherine of Russia.
 1788. Joseph II. declares war with Turkey. Potemkin takes Choczim.
 1789. Selim III. Battle of the Rymna. The Austrians take Belgrade.
 1790. Suwarow takes Ismaïl.
 1791. Peace of Szistowa with Austria.
 1792. Peace of Jassi with Russia.
 1798. Buonaparte invades Egypt. The English and Russians aid the Turks.
 1801. The French are driven out of Egypt.
 1803. Revolt of the Wahabites in Arabia.
 1806. The Russians overrun Moldavia, Wallachia, and Besarabia.
 1807. Failure of the English expeditions against Constantinople and Egypt. Selim III. deposed; Mustapha IV. —Armistice with Russia; the English evacuate Egypt.
 1808. Mustapha IV. deposed and strangled.

MUSTAPHA III., nearly thirty years after the deposition of his father, Achmet III., was placed on a throne which he disgraced by sensuality and avarice. For some years, he reigned peacefully; but his jealousy at the alarming growth of the power of Russia in Poland—a feeling carefully kept alive by the French envoys—led him into a sudden change of policy. When therefore the Russians, enraged at the escape of some Polish fugitives into his country, had crossed his border, burned Balta in Besarabia, and committed dreadful outrages; their ambas-

sador was imprisoned in the Seven Towers, Oct. 1768, and in a few months their southern provinces were ravaged by the khan of the Crim Tartars and several Turkish armies. But they easily reduced Azof, April 1769; and on the banks of the Dniester, prince *Gallitzin*, who at first was far from successful, eventually gained a battle which decided the fate of Choczim, and opened Moldavia and Wallachia to their inroads. Their energetic czarina *Catherine II.* had a fleet now sent round from the shores of the Baltic into the Mediterranean; troops were landed at Maina, near cape Matapan, Feb. 1770; and in the Morea and the isles of the *Ægean* sea, thousands of Greeks were encouraged to rise up in arms and massacre their tyrant masters. The flame thus kindled was quickly quenched in blood. Aided by a body of savage Albanians, the Turks fell upon the confederates at Patras and Modon; the Russians abandoned the Morea, and the Greeks were ruthlessly slaughtered in their turn. The Turkish fleet, however, notwithstanding its superiority in weight and numbers, was worsted in the channel of Scio by the Russians; and when the capitan-pacha who commanded it, thought to secure himself by running into the narrow bay of Chesmé, he was attacked at midnight by a squadron under British officers, and lieutenant *Dugdale* with a fireship set fourteen of his vessels in a blaze, the fifteenth (which alone escaped destruction) being captured, July 1770⁵. And in Moldavia, the victories of *Romanzoff* near the Pruth (in the latter of which the grand army of the Ottoman vizir was routed, Aug. 1770) made the Russians masters of all the neighbouring country, the whole of Bessarabia, and a great part of Wallachia included.

⁵ The Russian commanders were count *Orloff* and admiral *Spiritoff*. Spiritoff and the capitan-pacha narrowly escaped with their lives in the action in the channel of Scio, when their closely engaged flagships both blew up, and nearly the whole of the crews perished.

Owing to the astonishing exertions of the undaunted *Hassan*, now made capitan-pacha, the Turks were still enabled to retrieve their naval losses.

Although, in the summer of the year 1771, the Russians forced the lines of Precop and occupied the Crimea, they began to droop in their efforts:—their armies abroad and the people at home were wasted by a frightful plague; their finances were drained to the lowest ebb; and Austria and Prussia were watching their progress with no friendly feelings. Some fruitless negotiations and feeble campaigns now followed; and the Turks had leisure to turn their attention to the state of things in Syria and Egypt, where dangerous troubles had broken out⁶. In the mean-

⁶ On the death of *Ibrahim*, a pacha who had made himself almost absolute in Egypt, A.D. 1757, his Mameluke slaves, for several years, struggled against each other for the mastery. The celebrated *Ali Bey* at length obtained it; who afterwards took Mecca and Jidda (where he intended to establish an overland trade with India), and extended his views to Syria, which was at length invaded by his adherent, *Mahomet Abu Dahab*, and 60,000 of his troops, A.D. 1771. Damascus was entered in triumph, and its castle was about to surrender, when the treacherous Mahomet, gained over by the Turks, suddenly retreated back to Egypt. He afterwards openly revolted against Ali, who fled with 800 Mamelukes into Syria, where fortune again smiled on him. But his impatience led him to return prematurely into Egypt: he was met in the desert and overpowered by *Murad*, a young Mameluke, and conducted to Mahomet, who is believed to have put him to death, A.D. 1773. The latter now undertook to reduce Syria for the sultan; but his career, which was marked by horrid cruelty, was cut short by a fever, A.D. 1776. Two of the beys of his party, *Murad* and *Ibrahim*, now lorded it over the rest, crushing every hostile combination: in fact, even when they quarrelled, which they did soon,—each in his turn had to flee from Cairo,—they found it necessary to be on some terms of agreement. And though, in 1786, the redoubted *Hassan* landed in Egypt, defeated *Murad*, took Cairo, and drove the rebellious beys into the upper part of the country; in a few years, they ventured to return,—thus giving the French, when they invaded Egypt in 1798, the pretext that they were seeking to restore the lawful power of the sultan.

while, Mustapha III. died, March 1774, leaving a son who was too young to reign. A brother therefore succeeded.

ABDUL HAMID treated his nephew with great kindness, although some turbulent Janizaries had tried to place him on the throne. A very mutinous spirit then prevailed in the army, owing to some unpopular reforms which the low state of its discipline had lately called forth ; so that when the vizir took the field against the Russians, who had crossed the Danube, the men deserted in large bodies, or even turned their arms against each other. Several advantages were now gained by Romanzoff and his generals, and at length the vizir's convoys were cut off, and his camp beset. In this extremity, a treaty was signed in the Russian camp at Kaynargi near Silistria, July 1774, by which the Ottomans recovered their northern provinces⁷ and the revolted islands ; but were forced to cede Azof, Taganrog, and other important places in the Crimea and on the Dnieper, to the czarina, whose subjects were also to have the free navigation of the Euxine and all other Turkish seas. They had likewise to give up all claim of sovereignty over the Crim Tartars.—These last did not enjoy their independence many years. In 1783, their khan was deposed by Catherine, and their country annexed to Russia, though not without a vast deal of bloodshed. The subjection of a Mahometan people to a Christian head, was a thing most grating to the feelings of the sultan as successor to the caliphs ; yet on seeing how well prepared the Russians were to strike, he hearkened to the advice of France and Austria, and yielded his sanction to

⁷ Austria was also eventually allowed to keep the Bukowina, a Moldavian district which the Russians had lately put into her possession, as formerly belonging to Transylvania. *Ghika*, the Moldavian hospodar, having demurred to this arrangement, was put to death by his Turkish masters.

it, Jan. 1784, though the streets of Constantinople rang with loud and tumultuous shouts for war with the *Giaours*, or infidels.

The peace thus prolonged was a hollow one. Various causes of complaint and mistrust arose; and in a moment of irritation, the Russian ambassador was sent as usual to the Seven Towers, Aug. 1787. In the following year, Catherine had the aid of the emperor *Joseph II.*^{*}; who attacked the Turks on the side of Servia and Moldavia, though with little glory either to himself or to his generals: on the other hand, she was embarrassed by a war with Sweden, and by the less open hostility of Great Britain and Prussia. But on the waters of the Black Sea, her flotilla, which was commanded by the prince of *Nassau-Siegen*, repeatedly defeated the ships of Hassan; and while Choczim was reduced by an army of Austrians and Russians under the prince of *Saxe-Coburg*, Sept. 1788, Oczakoff was beset by the Muscovite troops of *Potemkin*, and, after it had held out for several months, was ruthlessly sacked, Dec. 1788. Before the next campaign had well begun, the life of Abdul Hamid was ended: he died of apoplexy, April 1789, and was succeeded by his nephew, who was now old enough to govern.

SELIM III. found his bravest warriors unable in Moldavia and Wallachia to withstand the energy of the fierce and fanatical *Suwaroff*; who at Focsani, and a month afterwards at Martinesti on the Rymna, Sept. 1789, came up to the support of the prince of Saxe-Coburg and the Austrians, and routed the Moslems with great slaughter. The savage heroism of that extraordinary man was also strikingly displayed somewhat later at the storming of

* An ostentatious visit of Catherine to the Crimea, May 1787, in company with the emperor Joseph II., had lately caused great alarm at Constantinople; and the English and Prussian ministers abetted the war party in the *divan* or council.

Ismail, a strong town in Bessarabia, which Potemkin had for seven months been besieging in vain, Dec. 1790^o. The Austrians, however, being weakened by troubles in Hungary and in the Low Countries, were glad to make peace at Szystowa in Bulgaria, Aug. 1791, most of their conquests, including Belgrade (taken by Laudon, Oct. 1789), being given up; and their example was followed by the Russians at Jassi, where the cessions of former treaties were confirmed by the Turks, with the addition of Oczakoff and the territory between the Bog and the Dniester, Jan. 1792.

The reign of Selim III. was an unhappy one throughout. But for the help of England (which, as well as Russia, made an alliance with him in 1798), he would have lost Egypt¹ when it was invaded by the French; in more than

^o Blood was shed like water. Thirty-three thousand persons, male and female, were massacred; and the prisoners (upwards of ten thousand) were employed in throwing the dead bodies into the Danube.

¹ Napoleon Buonaparte and the French landed in Egypt, July 1798, defeated Murad and the Mamelukes, occupied Cairo, and overran the whole country, not only Murad but also Ibrahim being driven before them. The next year, Napoleon marched into Syria to oppose *Achmet el Djezzar* (the Butcher), the ferocious pacha of Acre and Damascus. After taking Jaffa, where he disgraced himself by ordering nearly 4000 prisoners to be shot in cold blood, he laid siege to Acre; but the pacha was encouraged by the gallantry of sir *Sidney Smith* and his English sailors and marines, to make so desperate a resistance, that the French were forced to retreat with shame, May 1799. Napoleon afterwards returned to France, leaving the command to general *Kleber*, who was assassinated by a Moslem fanatic (June 1800), and succeeded by a renegade Frenchman who called himself *Abdalla Menou*. The landing of *Abercrombie* and the English, March 1801, and the victory which they gained near Alexandria, put an end to the hopes of the French; and the capitulation of Menou at Alexandria, Sept. 1801, finally restored Egypt to the Turks.—During the siege, general *Hutchinson* cut the embankment of the canal of Alexandria, and by letting the waters of the sea into lake Mareotis, ruined a fruitful district, and utterly destroyed the labour of ages.

one of his provinces, the governors revolted ; in Arabia, the fanatic Wahabites² spread terror and confusion, plundering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and violating the very tomb of the prophet ; Albania was restless ; and in Servia and Bosnia, the oppressed Christians rose in arms under their chieftain, *Czerni George*, and defied every attempt of the Turks to put them down. The whole fabric of Ottoman dominion had now fallen into decay and decrepitude ; hardly a shadow remained of the greatness which had passed away ! And to complete the measure of its degradation, when (in 1807) France and Russia were arrayed as leading powers against each other, the "Sublime Porte," as the court of Constantinople is still called, was looked upon as a mere make-weight in the balance of Europe ; and bullied by both parties, it was overawed and helpless, and knew not what to do. The subserviency of Selim to the policy of France³, when the star of *Napoleon* was in the ascendent, at length called forth the open hostility of *Alexander* of Russia, whose troops overran Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Wallachia, Nov. 1806 ; and of the English, who sent a large squadron under vice-

² *Abdul Wahab*, the Socinus of Islamism, taught mere deism ; reduced man's duty as a religious being to prayer and good works ; abolished pilgrimages, ablutions, and all religious ceremonies. His successors, during the seventeenth century, had established themselves at Derayah in Arabia, whence 20,000 fanatics once sallied forth to plunder the far-famed shrine of Hassan in Kerbeleh in Persia.

³ General *Sebastiani*, the French envoy, had required the exclusion of Russian ships, laden with the means of hostility, from the entrance of the sea of Marmora ; he had also prevailed on the sultan not to renew the alliance with England. Yet the dread of a war had induced Selim to make tardy concessions, and even to reinstate the hospodars of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, whom, at *Sebastiani's* instigation, he had deposed ; and when he found himself driven by the aggressions of *Alexander* to take up arms, the Russian ambassador was not sent to the Seven Towers, as had hitherto been always done.

admiral sir *John Duckworth*, to threaten Constantinople and intimidate the sultan. Duckworth forced the passage of the Dardanelles, Feb. 1807 ; but instead of striking a decisive blow at once, he anchored at about eight miles from the imperial city, and by allowing the Turks to negotiate, gave them time for defence : so that when their batteries were armed and manned, and their numerous ships of war brought out in readiness, they rejected his haughty terms, and he found himself obliged to sail back through the straits, at much risk and with some loss. In the mean while, the Russians had greatly strengthened the Servians, who, after taking Belgrade and other places, had now entered into Bulgaria ; and a fresh expedition was planned by the English against Egypt, in which Duckworth was ordered to co-operate⁴. But though major-general *Fraser* landed with a small detachment from Sicily,—less than five thousand men were thought enough for the conquest of Egypt,—and got possession of Alexandria, March 1807, an attack on Rosetta proved a failure ; and at the end of six months, the invaders were forced to evacuate the country by *Mehemet Ali*, a bold and crafty Albanian, who had become vice-roy in spite of the sultan.

Ere yet this last affair was ended, Selim III. had ceased to reign. A rebellion of the Janizaries, caused by his training a large body of men in the improved military discipline of Christian Europe⁵, forced him to resign in favour

⁴ Though the grand-vizir had treacherously entrapped and murdered several of the beys at Aboukir in 1801, two successive Turkish pachas had found it no easy matter to govern Egypt. During these dissensions between the pachas and the Mamelukes, *Mehemet Ali*, of Cavalla, in Albania (who had been a tax gatherer, soldier, and tobacco merchant), rose to power ; who, in 1805, got his Albanian troops to proclaim him vice-roy or pacha.

⁵ The wise *Mufti* (or great doctor of the law) had been intimidated to decide, that a prince who had brought in the customs of infidels, and had reigned seven years without having had children, was unfit to reign.

of his cousin **MUSTAPHA IV.**, Abdul Hamid's son, May 1807; soon after which an armistice was made with the Servians, and also with the Russians, whose fleet had gained a great victory off Lemnos in the beginning of July. A counter revolution took place, July 1808, when *Mustapha Bairactar*, an energetic partisan of the new system, marched to Constantinople and deposed Mustapha IV., who had now tried in vain to save his crown by the murder of Selim.

A. D. 1808. Mahmud II. Death of Bairactar.

1809. Peace with Great Britain. War with Russia resumed.

1812. Peace of Bucharest.

1821. Insurrection of Ypsilanti in Moldavia. Revolt of the Greeks in the Morea and in the islands.

1822. Ali Pacha killed at Janina. Massacre of Scio. Persian war (ends 1823).

1825. Ibrahim Pacha takes Navarino and besieges Missolonghi.

1826. Fall of Missolonghi. Revolt of the Janizaries.

1827. Treaty of London; *Battle of Navarino*.

1828. Russia declares war. Ibrahim evacuates the Morea. The Russians retreat from Shumla.

1829. Successes of the Russians in Armenia. The Russians force the Balkan. Peace of Adrianople.

MAHMUD II., the half-brother of the fallen sultan, was placed on the throne; and Bairactar, raised to the high office of grand vizir, now endeavoured to carry out his plans for the restoration of the old glory of the Ottoman empire. His patriotism cost him his life. An outbreak of the Janizaries and of the bigoted populace, Nov. 1808, drove him in his despair to strangle Mustapha and his mother; and to set fire to a mass of gunpowder, and blow himself up, together with a number of his friends and foes. Seven days of dreadful commotion followed, during which Mahmud himself was only spared, because he was now the last of the race of Athman.

In the following year, peace was made with England; but the war with Russia was renewed. The Turks displayed much bravery in the contest: yet the advantage was on the side of the Russians, who, when peace was signed at Bucharest, May 1812, were left in possession of a third of Moldavia, as far as the Pruth, of Choczim, Bender, Ismail, and of the whole of Bessarabia. An amnesty was also granted to the Servians.

The decay of the power of their Ottoman masters had given hopes to the oppressed Greeks, that the day of their deliverance from bondage was not far distant; and for some time, they had been watching for an opportunity to throw off the yoke. In the year 1821, they set to work in earnest. An attempt of *Alexander Ypsilanti*, whose father had been hospodar of Moldavia, to raise a rebellion in Moldavia and Wallachia, was indeed put down; but though Mahmud ordered the Greek population to be disarmed, and tried to strike terror into the malcontents by wholesale massacres, and by hanging the patriarch and other bishops at their own church-doors, the insurrection spread like flame in the Morea and in the islands. In the following year, the Turks were embarrassed by a war with Persia, which, however, was quickly terminated without loss; and by the troubles in Albania, where *Ali Pacha* still set them at defiance. Ali perished at Janina, Feb. 1822; and to the consternation of the Greek patriots, the Turkish fleet sailed to Scio, and the whole island was savagely wasted by fire and sword, 25,000 persons of both sexes being killed, and 30,000 women and children dragged away into slavery. The struggle now became war to the knife; and on the whole, the Greeks had the best of it, particularly at sea, notwithstanding the jealousies and self-seeking of their leaders. The religious feelings and the classical associations of Europe, were, of course, enlisted on the side of the cross against the crescent, and of the Hellenes against the Bar-

barians⁶; yet the great Christian powers kept aloof, whereas the sultan got aid from Mehemet Ali⁷, his almost independent vassal, whose step-son, *Ibrahim Pacha*, came with an army of 14,000 well trained soldiers, and with a highly efficient fleet, to crush the revolt. Ibrahim landed in the Morea; took Navarino, Feb. 1825; and invested Missolonghi, which desperately held out, but fell after a twelvemonth's siege, April 1826: his troops also frightfully devastated the whole country. Shortly afterwards, the sultan having decreed that the Ottoman army should be trained in the European system, the Janizaries at Constantinople rose for the last time against their sovereign, June 1826. Mahmud boldly faced the storm; the disorderly masses were swept down by the guns of *Hussein Pacha*, and a proclamation dissolved the corps for ever.

The ruin of the trade of the Levant, and the horrible outrages perpetrated in the Morea, at length called forth the interference of the Christian states. Russia, France, and England agreed in the treaty of London, July 1827,

⁶ Among the volunteers who came to aid the Greeks, was the poet, lord *Byron*; who took 500 men into his pay, and laboured, but with little success, to reconcile the feuds of the Greek chieftains. A fever unhappily ended his career at Missolonghi, April 1824.

⁷ Mehemet Ali, when commanded to attack the Wahabites (who were eventually overpowered, after a series of struggles which extended over several years, by his adopted son, Ibrahim Pacha), had strengthened himself at home by the treacherous murder of the Mamelukes, March 1811; yet he well nigh lost his life, Aug. 1815, in a mutiny caused by his attempt to introduce European tactics into his army. Though he yielded to the storm, he did not lose sight of his favorite scheme. In 1820, 20,000 blacks, carried off from Senaar and Ispahan by his son *Ismaïl*, were disciplined: of these, all but 3000 soon died home-sick. Finding that this did not answer, he made forced levies from the Fellahs or Arab peasants of Egypt, and with the aid of French skill soon formed a respectable army. He was equally energetic and successful in his efforts to create a navy.

that Greece should have a qualified independence under the sovereignty of Turkey ; and a combined fleet was sent out, which, on the refusal of the sultan^a to submit to dictation, blockaded the Turkish and Egyptian ships in the harbour of Navarino. The breach of an armistice to which Ibrahim Pacha had consented, brought on a collision between the hostile armaments ; and sir *Edward Codrington* and the allies, though not without heavy loss, in a battle almost worthy of being named with Lepanto, utterly destroyed the navy of the infidels, Oct. 1827. In a few months, an army arrived from France to complete the work which had been so well begun ; and before the end of the following year, Ibrahim and the Turks had evacuated the Morea, and Greece was free.


But the sultan, who found that France and England were affrighted at their own success and jealous of the ambition of their northern ally, had still refused to accede to the treaty. War was declared against him by Russia, April 1828 ; whose armies, though successful in Asia, won little glory in their first campaign : *Warna* (of which the garrison was mutinous) was at last surrendered ; but *Shumlah* was so well defended by *Hussein Pacha*, Oct. 1828, that the assailants retreated, and abandoning the siege of *Silistria*, hastened to recross the *Danube*. In the next campaign, Turkey was brought to the brink of ruin. When *Silistria* was again besieged, *Redshid Pacha*, the grand vizir, after fighting two fierce battles, was unable to relieve it ; and though he had strongly entrenched himself at *Shumlah*, his position was skilfully masked by part of the army of *Diebitsch*, the new Russian commander, while the rest forced the passes of the *Balkan*, and penetrated into the very heart of the empire. *Redshid*, on hearing of this

^a He was encouraged to do so by the Austrians ; who wished ill to the Greeks, as they feared that this example of rebelling would be followed by their discontented Italian subjects.

movement, broke up in alarm and marched to Selimno : there he was attacked by Diebitsch, and his disheartened soldiers fled at once, like sheep, leaving arms and baggage on the field, Aug. 1829. Without even a show of resistance, Adrianople opened its gates to the conquerors ; and thither plenipotentiaries were quickly sent by the trembling sultan, whose generals had also been lately overpowered by the Russians in Armenia, so that his discomfiture was complete. At the Peace of Adrianople, Sept. 1829, the Russians gave back the conquests which they could hardly have kept or increased without kindling an European war : but Moldavia and Wallachia came henceforth under their control, being released from all dependence on the Porte beyond the payment of a yearly tribute ; and the conditions granted to the Servians, some years before, were to be ratified. *Greece was likewise to become an independent state.*

- 1831. War with Mehemet Ali ; Ibrahim invades Syria.
- 1832. Ibrahim takes Acre and overruns Syria. Battle of Koniah.
- 1833. Russia aids the Porte. Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.
- 1836. Revolt of Bosnia.
- 1838. Aden ceded to Britain. Extensive Reforms.
- 1839. Second War with Mehemet Ali ; Battle of Nejib.— Abdul Mejid succeeds Mahmud. The Capitan Pacha betrays the Turkish fleet. Interposition of the Five Powers.
- 1840. Operations at Beyrout ; Defeat of Ibrahim. Bombardment of Acre.
- 1841. Peace with Egypt.

Mahmud now sought—though not always judiciously—to breathe fresh life into the worn-out institutions of his empire, by adopting, not only the arts and improvements, but even the dress and manners of the Christian nations⁹.

 In pursuing an outward civilization, he still further weakened that which was already fast decaying. Mahometan zeal

He was, however, again brought into danger, owing to the rebellion of Mehemet Ali, who had been trying to seize upon Syria. Ibrahim had begun the contest, Dec. 1831, by laying siege to Acre, which was stormed after a gallant defence of nearly six months; he then put to flight two Turkish armies, and entered Damascus, Aleppo, and Antioch in triumph; and by gaining the decisive battle of Koniah, in which Redshid was wounded and taken prisoner, Dec. 1832, he subdued a great part of Asia Minor, and threatened Constantinople itself. But Russia stepped forth in the new character of the friend of Turkey; her soldiers and her ships hastened to the safeguard of the endangered city, the queen of the Bosphorus; Ibrahim saw that his career was checked, April 1833, and he agreed to retreat. By an "amnesty" proclaimed in the beginning of May, the government of Candia with a large portion of Syria, in addition to the vice-royalty of Egypt, was yielded to Mehemet Ali¹; and at their camp at Unkiar Skelessi, near Constantinople, the Russians concluded a treaty of close alliance with the sultan, by which the Dardanelles were opened to their ships of war, but closed to those of all other nations. Thus the Black Sea became a Russian lake.

The peace which a foreign enemy had thus made, did not last many years². About a month before the death of the

had lost its vigour, and nothing was found to supply its place but that worldly wisdom of infidelity which can only hasten the moral decline of nations.

¹ Damascus, Sidon, Aleppo, and Jerusalem were then thus brought for a time under the sway of Mehemet Ali: Ibrahim got Mecca and Jidda, and a district in Asia Minor.

² During this period of comparative tranquillity, which was troubled by revolts in Bosnia and elsewhere, Mahmud and Redshid, his vizir, effected several reforms.—A commercial treaty was also made with Great Britain, Aug. 1838, which now obtained the port of Aden at the entrance of the Red Sea.

energetic but ill-starred Mahmud,—he was succeeded, July 1839, by his son ABDUL MEJID,—a second war broke out, and the Turks were utterly routed by Ibrahim at Nejib, near Aleppo. Another heavy blow was sustained by the youthful sultan, not many days after his accession, when *Achmet*, the capitan-pacha, set sail and betrayed the fleet into the hands of the Egyptians: hatred to *Khosrew*, the new grand vizir, was the cause of this base treachery. The five great European nations now interposed to save the Ottoman empire, and for a short time hostilities were stayed. But Mehemet Ali refused to give up Syria; and he had the sympathy of France, which withdrew from the other powers when it was resolved to employ force against him, July 1840. Aid was sent to the lawless mountain-tribes which in Syria had risen to shake off a yoke which was more galling than the old Turkish despotism³; and early in September, an English fleet under sir *Robert Stopford*, joined by an Ottoman squadron⁴ and some Austrian ships, bombarded Beyrout. A force was landed, of Turks and British marines (these last under the able management of commodore *Charles Napier*), which co-operated with the insurgents, stormed Sidon, and successively discomfited the troops of Ibrahim himself, and of *Solyman Bey*, a renegade Frenchman in the Egyptian service; and the liberation of Syria was at last completed by the abandonment of Acre by the enemy, after that far-famed stronghold had been crushed into a heap of ruins by the guns of the allied fleet, Nov. 1840. Alexandria was immediately threatened with a like fate; on which Mehemet Ali⁵ thought fit to

³ The harsh rule of Mehemet Ali, and his hateful conscription, had stirred up revolts in Syria as early as 1834. He put them down in person with the most savage cruelty, but they were ever breaking out again.

⁴ The Turkish ships were commanded by an English admiral, *Walker Bey*.

⁵ *Mehemet Ali* had had the magnanimity and good sense not to

negotiate. He restored the Turkish fleet, Jan. 1841; and it was decided by the Four Powers that he should yield up Syria and all that he possessed out of Egypt, of which country, however, he was to be *hereditary* vice-roy, having only to pay a fixed tribute. These terms were ratified by the sultan, May 1841; who not long afterwards consented to another treaty, in which France likewise took part, by which the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were to be closed against all foreign ships of war.

SECTION VIII.

THE KINGDOM OF GREECE.

- A. D. 1829. Greece independent of Turkey.
 1831. Capo d'Istria assassinated.
 1832. Otho I., king of Greece.

While the parties to the treaty of London were offering the crown of the new kingdom of Greece⁶, first to prince *John of Saxony*, and afterwards to prince *Leopold of Saxe Coburg*; the government of the country was left in the hands of count *John Capo d'Istria*, an arbitrary ruler, who was assassinated Oct. 1831, shortly after he had quelled a revolt with Russian aid. A state of anarchy ensued, which

interrupt the transmission of the Indian mails through Egypt.—The communication by steam with India through Egypt—begun, in spite of every sort of official discouragement, by the enterprise of the ill-rewarded *Thomas Waghorn*, in 1835—had become regularly established in 1838.

⁶ Besides the Morea, Negropont or Eubosa, and the Cyclades, the modern kingdom of Greece comprises some of the country beyond the isthmus of Corinth, its northern boundary line being drawn from the gulf of Arta to the gulf of Volo.

lasted until the nomination of *Otho*, second son of the king of *Bavaria*, was accepted by a national assembly, Aug. 1832.

A young prince,—*Otho* only became of age in June 1835,—a barbarian, too, in the eyes of his subjects, who likewise hated his German followers, was not likely to find the throne of Greece a bed of roses. He has had his full share of the troubles and mortifications which can hardly fail to await the ruler of a half civilized and lawless people, not yet strong enough to stand alone, and therefore under the guardianship and dictation of foreign powers.

PART V.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.¹

SECTION I.

OF THE BARBARIAN RACES WHICH OVERRAN EUROPE ON
THE DECLINE, AND AFTER THE FALL OF THE WESTERN
EMPIRE.

A. D. 476. *Fall of the Western Empire.*

MOST of the present inhabitants of Europe² are of that
great branch of the human family which has been fancifully

¹ *The Middle Ages are taken to comprise the period from the Fall of the Western Empire to the Invasion of Naples by Charles VIII. of France. It has, however, been found convenient to include in this Part a few subjects which are on the verge of Ancient, or of the more Modern History; such as the earlier achievements of the Visigoths, the conquests of Spain and Portugal in the Indies, and the reigns of the Portuguese kings of the sixteenth century.*

² The first inhabitants of Europe were nomadic races, of which the Laplanders and Fins are the remains: they lived on roots, herbs, fruits, and whatever fish or wild animals they could catch. Then came another people, which had settled abodes and some rude beginnings of tillage, and which spread along the sea-coast and followed the course of rivers and the open banks of lakes: this they did for the sake of hunting and fishing; and because their cutting implements were of stone, and they could not easily fell the numberless

named Caucasian³. It is also to be remarked, that the tide of emigration which flowed westward from Asia, seems to have parted into two streams; the one proceeding south of the Caspian through Asia Minor, across the narrow straits at each end of the Propontis, and the other going to the north of the Caspian, and making its way between the extremity of the Ural Mountains and the Black Sea. By the former of these lines, the Iberians⁴, Ligurians, Pe-

trees which made the interior of the continent to be full of forests and bogs. They buried their dead in the cromlechs and giant chambers which were formerly supposed to be Druidical. Last of all appeared the really agricultural races, such as the Celts and other Indo-European nations, which also knew the use of metals, and made their predecessors slaves.—The Celts and the Scandinavian Goths burned their dead.

³ The CAUCASIAN race includes the *Indo-European* and the *Semitic* nations, of which the languages may also be classed into two distinct groups. The Hindoos, Persians, Medes, Armenians, Curds, and other Asiatic peoples are members of the Indo-European family, while the Syrians, Chaldeans, Jews, and Arabs are Semitic; and the skulls of the whole race are oval, whereas those of the MONGOLIAN race are broadfaced and pyramidal, and those of the ÆTHIOPIAN narrow and retreating, with the jaws prominent. Mankind being originally of one stock, the varieties of form and colour in races are the effects of climate and of higher and lower degrees of civilization. Not to speak of the Jews, who in Europe have larger features than their eastern brethren; who, in the north, have blue eyes and flaxen hair; and in Cochin, have even become, in the course of ages, as black as jet; there is not more difference between the skull of a European and that of a negro, than there is between the skull of a wild boar and the skull of the domesticated swine.—The idea of naming the grand divisions of mankind from the heights of Caucasus, the Mongolian chain of the Altai, and the Æthiopian ridges of Mount Atlas, is not a happy one. When "the earth was all before them," men did not collect in high and barren tracts; but, as Scripture itself points out, the cradle of nations was in fertile plains and valleys, watered by navigable streams like the Nile and the Euphrates.

⁴ The remains of the Iberians are the BASQUES. They call themselves *Euskaldunes*, and live in the mountainous districts on the con-

Iasgians, Italians, Hellenes, Illyrians, and Thracians may be conjectured to have reached their settlements along the shores of the Mediterranean, as the Ottomans have done since; and by the latter, the Celts, Cimbri, the German and Gothic nations, the Lettish and Slavic tribes, the Huns, Avars, and Magyars⁵ have issued forth.

The CELTS and the CIMBRI⁶ are come from a kindred stock, and were closely connected: they have often spread desolation over the south and east of Europe, though at length they were driven into its western corners by the advance of the Gothic and Slavic nations. Their clans were governed by chieftains, whose endless divisions made them incapable of uniting in one common cause; and they

finest of France and Spain, being known as Basques and Biscayans. Their language has no affinity with any Indo-European tongue, and in structure most nearly resembles the idioms of the native American tribes.

⁵ The Finns, Lappes, and Hungarian Magyars, are all branches of the savage FENNIC race, known also as *Ugri* and *Igours* (the real *Ogres* of our nursery tales): it was said to have been driven out of Tartary by the ancient Huns, and it is certain that it once overspread the north of Europe and Asia from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Obi and the Irtysh. Several centuries after the Christian era, the Finns became agricultural; but the dwarfed and stunted Lappes are still a nomad people.—Gibbon has well remarked, that “The consanguinity of the Laplanders and Hungarians would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent.”

⁶ The *Cimbri* may be looked upon as a sort of link between the Celtic and the Gothic races,—the Cimbric Belgæ have been taken for Germans,—just as the Slavic nations stand between the Gothic and the Tartar races. The ancient Gauls and Britons were partly Celts and partly Cimbri,—*Brennus* or *Brennin* (king) is a Cimbric title; the Irish and the Highland Gaels (the descendants of the original Scots), as well as the Manks and some of the old inhabitants of Spain, are Celts; the old Picts or Caledonians, and the modern Welsh, Cumbrians, Cornish men, and the people of Lower Brittany, are Cimbric. The Cimbri have not come from the Cimbric Chersonese, as was thought: there are no traces of them in Denmark.

never attained to the highest degree of civilization. The Celts believed in the transmigration of souls, and offered human sacrifices to their gods. In Britain, an order of priests arose, called Druids, who had very great influence, owing to the knowledge which they acquired by a course of oral instruction which lasted many years: their system also made its way into some parts of Gaul.

The GERMAN and GOTHIC tribes belonged to one and the same race⁷, and had similar customs and manners. They worshipped Woden and Thor⁸; and the Sun and Moon, the Earth and Fire were also venerated by them: their temples were dark and ancient groves, and their rude priests had much authority. Their courage was heightened by their steadfast belief in the soul's immortality. WODEN, or *Odin*, from whom our Saxon kings professed to have been descended, was said to delight in blood; and the warrior who fell upon a heap of slaughtered foes was thought to have entered into the bliss of Valhalla, where heroes passed their time in drinking and fighting—almost the only occupations deemed worthy of freemen.

Ancient Germany, beyond the Rhine, was unconquered by the Romans: it had no towns and villages, and being full of uncleared forests and undrained marshes, it was as cold as Canada is now. The independent tribes which thinly peopled it, lived chiefly by pasturage and hunting: for their yearly custom of re-dividing all the arable land was unfavourable to tillage, which (together with the care of the house and the cattle) was left to the management of women and slaves. The women were, however, treated with great confidence and esteem, and were remarkable

⁷ In its widest extent, the *Gothic* race includes the Northmen and the Germans. To the former belong the Icelanders, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes; to the Teutonic branch, the Germans, Goths, and Saxons.

⁸ Thor was the god of thunder.

for their heroism⁹. The men, too, were brave, chaste, and hospitable; but in time of peace, they were dreadfully given to deep gaming and hard drinking. Kings chosen out of particular families, and leaders raised by merit above their fellows, ruled with a power which was limited by the free voice of the assembly of the nation¹; and chieftains of distinguished enterprise would gather round them a cluster of gallant youths, who subsisted on their liberality, and were devoted to the furtherance of their glory. In battle, the onset of the barbarian warriors was terrible; and though their valour was long neutralised by the rudeness of their arms and their want of discipline, their wars against the Roman taught them the necessity of a better system, and thus made them invincible².

The SLAVIC³ nations, the ancient *Sarmatians* and *Venedi* (Wends), were similar to these in many respects; but they had far less stability of character, being lively and imitative, and they did not readily unite together. In war, they were fond of skulking in ambush, and they used poisoned arrows⁴.

⁹ When, in battle, the Germans were driven back to the barricade of cars or waggons which sheltered their wives and children, these would help them to the last gasp.

¹ All important matters were discussed in the assembly, which also elected kings and chieftains, and tried criminals. Young men were brought into it and solemnly invested with arms, which originally consisted of a short spear (*framea*) and a painted wooden shield.

² By employing barbarians in their service, the degenerate Romans incautiously gave them opportunities of learning their system.

³ The name *Slavonian* or *Sclavonian* is commonly derived from *Slava* (glory); but more probably from *Slovo* (word or speech), in opposition to *Niemetz* (dumb) and *Niem* (foreign). Slavanski (Slavic) and Slavianin (Slavonian) were originally written Slovanski, Slovanin.

⁴ They fought nearly naked; but some of them had shields. Besides poisoned arrows and spears, they used a long rope with a

THE GOTHS (or *East Germans*).

- A.D. 251. Decius slain by the Goths.
262. The Goths ravage Greece and Asia Minor.
270. Claudius repels the Goths.
376. The Huns break up the empire of the Goths.

The GOTHS were commonly believed to have emigrated from Scandinavia into the country, on the opposite shore of the Baltic, now called Prussia ; and to have again removed from thence into the Ukraine. The Icelandic tradition, however, that they came from the South into the North, and that only a portion of them have reached so far as Sweden, seems to be much more likely than the other ; though indeed the question cannot be decided. At all events, a great Gothic power had grown up in the south-east of Europe before the middle of the third century ; when the territories of Rome were invaded, partly by land through Dacia,* and partly in skiffs across the Black Sea, and the emperor Decius was slain, and the most thriving cities on the coasts of Asia Minor were repeatedly ravaged⁵. The victories of *Flavius Claudius, Aurelian*, and *Probus*, checked the destructive career of the Goths ; yet dangerous wars would every now and then break out, especially in the reigns of *Constantine the Great* and *Valens*. The whole race was divided into three nations, the Ostrogoths,

running noose to entangle their enemies : they would sometimes lurk under water, drawing their breath through a hollow cane. They had the eastern custom of burning widows.

The Slavonians, though rather less than the Germans in height, were tall and strong. They were anciently rather red. The Germans had yellow or red hair, and blue eyes ; and the Celts had flaxen hair, while the Cimbri were more inclined to red. In the course of ages, these characteristics have been much obliterated.

⁵ On one occasion, they even plundered the whole of Achaia, and burned Corinth, Argos, and Athens, A.D. 262.

Visigoths, and Gepidæ⁶, of which the last was the least important; and under *Hermanric*⁷, who is said to have begun his conquests at the age of fourscore, and to have compelled the chiefs of the Visigoths to content themselves with the title of Judges, a mighty kingdom was established, which extended from the Baltic to the Danube and the Black Sea. This empire, to which a number of Slavonian tribes were also subject, was suddenly overthrown by the Huns, A.D. 376.

A.D. 376. Valens allows the Visigoths to settle in Thrace.

378. *Battle of Adrianople.*

382. The Visigoths submit to Theodosius.

395. Theodosius dies. The Visigoths revolt under Alaric.

396. Second expedition of Stilicho against Alaric.

402. Alaric invades Italy.

403. Battle of Pollentia; Alaric retreats.

408. Death of Stilicho. Alaric invades Italy.

410. *Alaric sacks Rome.* Death of Alaric. Adolphus.

412. Adolphus makes peace with Honorius, and enters Gaul.

414. Adolphus passes into Spain.

415. Adolphus murdered. Sigeric. Wallia.

418. Aquitaine is ceded to the Visigoths. Theodoric I. reigns at Thoulouse.

439. Theodoric I. defeats Litorius.

451. *Theodoric I. slain at the Battle of Châlons.* Torismund.

452. Theodoric II.

456. Theodoric defeats Rechiarus.

459. Majorian defeats Theodoric at Arles.

462. Narbonne taken.

463. Ægidius defeats Theodoric near Orleans (dies 464).

465. Theodoric II. assassinated. Euric.

475. Euric gains Auvergne; conquers most of Spain, 477; and the whole of Provence, 480.

485. Alaric II.

⁶ That is to say, into *East Goths*, *West Goths*, and *Loiterers* (as the Gepidæ were called, from being behind the rest).

⁷ Niebuhr deems Hermanric to have lived much earlier than the times of Valens.

A. D. 507. *Alaric II. slain at the Battle of Vouglé, or Poitiers.*

508. The Franks conquer most of southern Gaul. Theodoric the Ostrogoth rules the Visigothic kingdom.

526. Amalaric, king of the Visigoths, reigns at Narbonne.
—Provence ceded to the Ostrogoths.

531. Death of Amalaric.

The VISIGOTHS, in their distress, besought the eastern emperor Valens to harbour them on his side of the Danube; and they hastened in skiffs and on rafts across the river, it being agreed that they should give up their arms, and be dispersed throughout the empire. But the corrupt officials of Valens were bribed to let them keep their arms: they also scantily supplied the markets, that they might extort famine prices from the starving barbarians, whom they left together in large masses, instead of quickly passing them on to their destined settlements. At last, the enraged Visigoths suddenly revolted, and headed by *Fritigern*, one of their two judges, overran Mœsia and Thrace, laying waste the open country: they were joined by a large body of Ostrogoths, and even by some hordes of Huns and Alans. Valens had the folly to withstand this vast host single-handed, instead of waiting for his colleague *Gratian*, of whose recent success against the Alemanni he was somewhat jealous; and at Adrianople, two-thirds of his army were killed, and he himself lost his life, Aug. 378^a. The conquerors were, however, checked by the valour and the policy of his great successor Theodosius; who, in a few years, broke up their union, and made them yield to his supremacy and become paid auxiliaries. They were settled in Mœsia and Northern Illyricum, of which the towns still remained Roman^b.

After the death of Theodosius, Jan. 395, the discontinuance of the subsidy roused the indignation of the Visi-

^a He fled to a hut, which the enemy set on fire.

^b Their Ostrogothic allies, who continued the war and were defeated A.D. 386, obtained settlements in Asia Minor.

goths. They again broke out in revolt, and under their leader ALARIC, who had distinguished himself in the late emperor's service, penetrated into southern Greece, which they ruthlessly ravaged; and though they were defeated by Stilicho, the general of Honorius¹⁰ and the ally of the Eastern Empire, they got across the narrow sea to Rhium, and escaped with their booty into Epirus. Alaric afterwards leagued himself with Arcadius, the emperor whom he had attacked, and was appointed master-general (*magister militum*) of Illyricum: he was also elected king of the Visigoths, and was even enabled by the ungrateful Greeks to arm his followers for an expedition against Honorius. Yet, when he invaded Italy and was on the point of getting Honorius into his power¹, he was foiled by Stilicho, who won a great battle near Pollentia on Easter Sunday, March 403; and after another defeat at Verona, he retreated to Illyricum. The tidings that Stilicho had been basely murdered, Aug. 408, eventually encouraged him again to advance. Twice did he now lay siege to Rome, which Honorius, who trusted for safety to the marshes round Ravenna, dared not relieve:—a heavy ransom saved the helpless city, when plague and hunger had brought it down to a frightful state of wretchedness²; and when again endangered, its only resource was abject submission. The weak Honorius likewise tried to make terms for himself; but on the slightest gleam of hope, he displayed such faithlessness that Alaric returned in fury, and sat down, for a third time, before the walls of Rome. Treachery opened the Salarian gate, in the night, to the Barbarians, Aug. 24th,

¹⁰ Honorius, the brother of Arcadius, had inherited the Western Empire.

¹ The frightened emperor had fled from Milan, and had been hemmed in by the Goths and besieged at Asta.

² When threatened with the despair of a numerous population, if he would not grant better terms, Alaric coolly answered, that "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed."

410; and though little blood was shed³, the city was cruelly sacked and part of it set on fire, a crowd of unhappy prisoners being carried away and sold for slaves. Alaric did not live much longer. He died at Consentia, and was buried in the river Busentinus, from the bed of which the waters had been drained off by the labour of captives, who were slain as soon as the stream was turned back again to flow over his grave. And thus no degenerate Roman could disturb his resting-place.

ADOLPHUS, or ATHAULPH, his brother-in-law and successor, made peace with Honorius (whose captive sister *Placidia* he also married⁴), and withdrew into Gaul, A.D. 412. Though repulsed by count *Boniface* from Marseilles, being at first a questionable ally of the Romans; he got possession of most of modern Languedoc, and not only supported the authority of Honorius against the Gallic usurpers, but engaged to wage war with the barbarian invaders of Spain, A.D. 414. He surprised Barcelona, and was making rapid progress in his undertaking, when he fell by the hand of an assassin, Aug. 415. Seven days ended the life and reign of SINGERIC, who had seized the throne, and murdered the royal children; and the brother-in-law of Adolphus, the valiant WALLIA, was chosen king; who drove the Vandals, Alans, and Sueves into Galicia and Lusitania, and restored to the Romans most of his con-

³ The Goths were not altogether uncivilized. They were also heretic Christians, and spared the Churches when they sacked the city. They had been first converted by *Ulphilas*, a bishop who, besides preaching the Gospel to his countrymen, translated the Holy Scripture into their language; except the books of Samuel and Kings, which he thought would inflame their love of war. Though neither he nor the Goths held the Son of God to be a creature, they leaned towards the Arians and joined their communion.

⁴ He did not publicly marry her until the year 414, owing to the unwillingness of Honorius. He had previously divorced his first wife, the sister of Alaric.

quests, except Catalonia, Aquitaine (from Thoulouse to the sea), being also ceded to him by treaty, A.D. 418. Thoulouse now became the capital of the Visigoths.

Wallia having died soon after his return to Gaul, the choice of the Visigoths fell on THEODORIC I., a prince who was alternately the friend and foe of the Romans. This son of the great Alaric was foiled by the celebrated *Ætius*, when he wanted to get possession of Arles, A.D. 425 ; and by count *Litorius*, in another war, when he had nearly reduced Narbonne : yet at the end of about ten years more, when *Litorius* rashly attacked Thoulouse, A.D. 439, he fell upon him, took him prisoner, and was able to conclude a lasting peace with the Romans, by which he gained the narrow strip of coast, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Pyrenees, subsequently called Septimania. He eventually aided *Ætius* to repel the Huns⁵, and was killed at the bloody fight on the plains of Châlons, Sept. 451. His son, the gallant TORISMUND, who had retrieved the day when it was well-nigh lost, was murdered, in the second year of his reign, by his brother THEODORIC II. ; who likewise overpowered his restless brother-in-law *Rechiarus*⁶, king of the Sueves, Oct. 456, and conquered most of his territories. This able prince also attacked the Romans, but was obliged by the emperor *Majorian* to raise the siege of Arles : in a later war, he gained Narbonne by treachery ; and though he was once vanquished by count *Ægidius*, the master-general of Gaul, the seasonable death of that powerful chieftain removed every obstacle from his way.

The fratricide Theodoric II. was killed in his turn,

⁵ Theodoric's daughter had married Hunneric, the son of Genserich, king of the Vandals. Her savage father-in-law cut off her nose and sent her home ; and, that Theodoric might have no leisure to revenge himself by invading Africa, he stirred up Attila, king of the Huns, to invade Gaul.

⁶ Rechiarus had married a daughter of Theodoric I.

Aug. 465, by his brother EURIC, a king who committed the laws of the Visigoths to writing⁷. Euric, following in the track of his predecessor, advanced his frontiers to the Loire and to the Rhone, and also subdued Auvergne, Spain (with the exception of Gallicia), and the whole of Provence; but, being a bigoted Arian, he dealt so harshly with the *Catholics*⁸, that he became hated by the natives of southern Gaul. The same ill-judged policy brought on the ruin of ALARIC II., who had succeeded his father towards the close of the year 485; for it encouraged *Clovis*, the king of the Franks, to come forth and invade his dominions as the champion of the true faith. Alaric, who, but for the impatience of his soldiers, would have waited for the support of the Ostrogoths, was defeated and slain at Vouglé, near Poitiers, July 507; and in less than a twelvemonth, Thoulouse was entered by the Franks, who would soon have carried every thing before them, had they not been withstood by the generals of the great Ostrogoth *Theodoric*, whose illegitimate daughter (*Theodogotha*) the fallen king had married⁹. As it was, Septimania was all that was left to the Visigoths in France, Aquitaine being

⁷ The barbarians commonly allowed their conquered subjects to retain the Roman or *civil* law; but they themselves were only bound by their unwritten customs, which grew up into what was called the *common law*.

⁸ *Catholic* is invariably used in this history in its ancient and correct sense of orthodox, in opposition to *Heretic*. To make it synonymous with *Papist*, is most objectionable in History, as it would, of course, imply that the Greeks, and the other Catholic Christians of the fifth century, held the opinions of the modern church of Rome; which all Protestants deny.

⁹ *Ibbas*, the general of Theodoric, defeated the Franks and Burgundians; but instead of following up his success, he passed over into Spain in pursuit of GESALIC, a bastard son of Alaric II., whom the Visigoths had chosen king in preference to the boy Amalaric. Gesalic was beaten in a battle near Barcelona, A.D. 409, and driven to seek a refuge among the African Vandals; and when he again re-

conquered by their enemies, and Provence being kept by their ally, whom they had to obey as their master until his death, Aug. 526 ; when his grandson AMALARIC (the child of Alaric II. and Theodogotha), who had now come to man's estate, recovered that regal power of which he had only enjoyed the outward honours, and was enthroned at Narbonne. His bigotry led him to ill-treat his Catholic wife *Clotilda*, the daughter of Clovis : she sent her veil, stained with blood from a blow on the face which her unmanly husband had given her, to her brother *Childeric* ; who marched to her rescue, routed the army of Amalaric, ravaged Septimania, and pillaged Narbonne. Amalaric fled in the meanwhile to Barcelona, where he lost his life in a tumult, Dec. 531.

A. D. 531. Theudes reigns at Barcelona.

554. Athanagild reigns at Toledo.

567. Liuva I. reigns at Narbonne.

572. Leovigild reigns alone at Toledo.

585. Hermanigild put to death. The Sueves conquered.

586. Recared I. succeeds Leovigild.

589. The Visigoths renounce Arianism.

623. Suintila expels the Greeks from Spain.

672. Death of Recusint. Wamba.

680. Wamba deposed. Erviga.

710. Wittiza deposed. Roderic.

711. *Battle of Xeres* ; fall of the Visigothic kingdom.

THEUDES, who had formerly been the guardian of Amalaric and was now chosen king, removed the seat of government into Spain ; and under him and his successors¹, Barcelona, Merida, and then Toledo², became the capital of

turned to recover his crown, he was overpowered and put to death, A. D. 411.

¹ From Theudes to Roderic, twenty-three kings reigned. Only one, LIUVA I., the brother of Leovigild, resided at Narbonne.

² Toledo was made the capital by ATHANAGILD, who, in the civil war by which he gained the throne, called in the aid of the eastern

the Visigoths. Braga was taken, and the kingdom of the Sueves finally overthrown, A.D. 485, by the valiant *LEOVIGILD*, who had also vanquished and put to death his own son *Hermenigild*,—a prince who had been led by his wife *Irgundis* of Soissons to renounce Arianism, and had rebelled against him. But his other son *RECARED*, who ascended the throne in the following year, likewise embraced the Catholic faith, and soon induced his subjects to establish it as the religion of the country, A.D. 589. This tended to unite the Visigoths with the conquered races in Spain; and in less than sixty years, the common law was revised, and made to extend to every individual of the nation without distinction of origin. The Jews, however, were cruelly persecuted.

The manners of the Spanish Visigoths were barbarous. After the failure of the line of Alaric, the throne became almost purely elective: nearly all the kings were either murdered or deposed; and though the nation was never broken up by partition on the death of a prince, it was always distracted by civil wars. The prelates had great influence. In the reign of *RECUISINT*, who died Sept. 672, they and the palatines (or chief officers of state) obtained the sole right of choosing the sovereign, whose power was also to be greatly limited; and they insisted on the resignation of the next monarch, the warlike *WAMBA*, because he had been clothed in a monkish habit, when half dead from the effects of poison, given him by the ambitious

emperor Justinian, and was obliged to cede to him much of the coast along the Mediterranean. Leovigild and other kings recovered part of this territory; but the Greeks were not driven out until the reign of *SUINTILA*, the first Visigothic king of all Spain, A.D. 623. Athanigild was the father of the famous Brunechild, by *Goisvintha*, who afterwards married Leovigild. It was Goisvintha's persecution of her grandchild and step-daughter, the beautiful *Irgundis* (the daughter of Brunechild), which is said to have provoked *Hermenigild* to rebellion.

count ERVIGA, who was then elected in his stead, Oct. 680. WITTIZA, the grandson of Erviga in the female line, and a most wicked tyrant, was dethroned by RODERIC, who had hardly reigned a twelvemonth, when he was overpowered by the Saracens at Xeres, July 711, and the kingdom of the Visigoths destroyed.

- A. D. 453. Death of Attila ; the Ostrogoths revolt from the Huns.
 472. Theodemir succeeds Welamir.
 485. Theodoric succeeds Theodemir.
 489. Theodoric invades Italy.
 493. Fall of Odoacer. *Theodoric the Ostrogoth conquers Italy.*
 507. Theodoric extends his rule over the Visigoths.
 524. Boëthius is put to death.
 525. Execution of Symmachus.
 526. Nomination of pope Felix III. ; Death of Theodoric.
 Athalaric.
 534. Theodotus.
 535. Death of Amalasuntha. Belisarius conquers Sicily.
 536. Belisarius takes Naples. Theodotus deposed ; Vitiges.
 Belisarius takes Rome. (Vitiges cedes Provence to the Franks.)
 538. Vitiges raises the siege of Rome.
 539. Retreat of the Franks. Belisarius reduces Ravenna, and carries away Vitiges.
 540. The Ostrogoths elect Hildibald king.
 541. Death of Hildibald. Eraric. Totila.
 543. Totila takes Naples.
 544. Belisarius opposes Totila.
 546. Totila takes Rome.
 548. Recall of Belisarius.
 549. Totila again takes Rome.
 552. *Narses defeats Totila, and retakes Rome. Teïas.*
 553. Narses defeats Teïas.
 554. Narses defeats the Franks and Alemanni, and reduces the Ostrogoths.

The OSTROGOTHS of Pannonia, headed by WELAMIR and his valiant brothers³, regained their freedom after the death

³ They were of the princely family of the AMALI, which held the

of Attila. Welamir was succeeded by his brother THEODERICH, and the latter by his illegitimate son THEODORIC; who, after being some time a doubtful ally of the Eastern Empire⁴, undertook to invade Italy and dispossess *Odoacer*, the chief of the Heruli, by whom the last emperor of the West had been overthrown. Theodoric fought his way through the country of the Gepidæ; defeated Odoacer in three great battles⁵; and forced him to shut himself up in Ravenna, where he capitulated at the end of three years. The two rival princes were to rule together; an arrangement set aside in a few days by the murder of Odoacer at a banquet, and the massacre of his followers, March 493.

The territories of Theodoric, whom the Visigoths (after the fall of Alaric II., his son-in-law, at Vouglé) also acknowledged as their lord, extended at last from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium, or Belgrade, to the coast of the Atlantic⁶. His government in Italy was most beneficial, even to the conquered people, although he gave one-third of the lands to his soldiers, to be held on condition of military service. Arian as he was, he was tolerant to the Catholics, until he was provoked to treat them with some harshness in retaliation for the outrages against the Arians, of which Justinian had been guilty; and he was not only

same position as that of the BALTI (Alaric's house) among the Visigoths.

⁴ In his youth, he had been a hostage at Constantinople for some years; yet he could not write.

⁵ On the Isonzo, near the ruins of Aquileia, Aug. 489; on the Adige, near Verona, Sept. 489; and with the aid of the Visigoths (after he had suffered some loss from the treachery of one of his chiefs), near Pavia, on the Adda, Aug. 490.

⁶ He married *Audofleda*, the sister of Clovis, by whom he had Amalasuntha; and, by a concubine, was father of *Ostrogotha* (the first wife of the Burgundian king Sigismund), and of Theodogotha, who married Alaric II. His sister *Amalsfreda* married *Thrasimund*, king of the Vandals, by whom, however, she was ill-treated.

appealed to for the purpose of deciding a disputed election to the see of Rome, but he once actually nominated a Pope⁷. His ministers were the celebrated *Cassiodorus*, who afterwards died a monk, and that noble genius *Boëthius*, a wealthy and high-born senator of the Anician family, whose famous "Consolation of Philosophy" (a work written in prison) was translated by king Alfred: the latter of these fell a victim to the suspicions of Theodoric⁸, who had become cruel in his old age. The end of Theodoric is said to have been hastened by remorse: he died, Aug. 526, and Amalaric, his grandson, recovered the territories of the Visigoths beyond the Rhone, while Italy and the rest of his dominions were bequeathed to the child of his daughter *Amalasuntha* by *Eutharic*, a husband of royal race. His treasures were divided between the two kings.

ATHALARIC, the young king of the Ostrogoths, was placed under the regency of his mother, who had Cassiodorus for adviser. AMALASUNTHA sought to give her son an education worthy of a prince; but she was thwarted by the narrow-minded prejudices of her countrymen⁹, and the unhappy boy was abandoned to idleness and vice. He died of the plague, Oct. 534; and as the laws did not allow the succession to pass from the lance to the distaff, his mother bethought herself of keeping the power in her hands by naming her weak cousin THEODOTUS¹, as her colleague. It was not long before she found out her mis-

⁷ He confirmed the election of *Symmachus*, and he nominated *Felix III*.

⁸ Boëthius was suspected of wishing to get the aid of Justinian to shake off the Gothic yoke from Italy. His father-in-law, the senator *Symmachus*, deplored his death, and was quickly made to suffer in his turn.

⁹ The Ostrogoths deemed that the child who had trembled at a rod would never dare to look at a sword.

¹ Theodotus was the son of Theodoric's sister, *Amalfreda*, by a Lombard chief whom she had married.

take in supposing that a fool could be easily managed ; for she was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsena, April 535, and strangled in a bath.

The murdered queen of Italy was the friend of the emperor Justinian ; who thus had the pretext of avenging her wrongs, when on the eve of sending his general, Belisarius, the conqueror of the Vandals, to assert his claim to the ancient possessions of the Cæsars. Before the end of the year, Belisarius had reduced Sicily ; in the following spring, he was already master of Calabria and Apulia, and had taken Naples ; and even after the incapable Theodotus had been set aside by his soldiers², and the warlike chieftain VITIGES raised upon a shield as king, Aug. 536, he reached Rome itself, where he was welcomed by the Catholic population. Vitiges tried hard to regain the ancient capital of the world ; but after besieging Belisarius nearly thirteen months³, he was forced to desist, March 538. The sufferings of the times were dreadful. Both parties had invited the aid of the Austrasian Franks, and these had answered the call by ravaging the north of Italy, until their ranks were thinned by disease and they thought it prudent to return home. Vitiges was at last shut up at Ravenna ; and on its surrender to Belisarius, Dec. 539, he was carried away to Constantinople, where he passed the rest of his days.

But though the kingdom founded by Theodoric had thus been overthrown, Belisarius had hardly left Italy, when the Ostrogoths beyond the Po rose and elected HILDIBALD, a nephew of the Visigoth Theudes. Hildibald was mur-

² Theodotus, after his fall, was pursued and murdered by a man whom he had wronged. His rival now strengthened his title by marrying *Matthasuntha*, the daughter of Amalasuntha and Eutharic : he also thought fit to abandon Provence to the Franks.

³ During the siege, Belisarius deprived pope *Sylvester*, on a charge of treason, and sent him into exile, Nov. 537. *Vigilius*, who had paid a large sum to the imperial government, was chosen to the vacant see.

dered at a feast: but his brother **TOTILA** (on whom the choice of the nation fell, Aug. 541, when the Rugian **ERARIC** had met with a like fate) recovered Naples; sacked Rome, in spite of **Belisarius** who had been sent with an inadequate force to oppose him; and established his rule over Italy. Yet he was at last overpowered by the eunuch **Narses** at **Tagina** in **Tuscany**, June 552; and the brave **TEIAS**, his successor, was likewise slain on the banks of the **Sarnus**, Oct. 553. This second victory was followed up by the defeat of the **Franks** and **Alemanni**, who had marched to the support of the vanquished **Ostrogoths**; and at the close of the year 554, all opposition to **Narses** was given up.

A.D. 453. Death of **Attila**; the **Gepidæ** become independent of the **Huns**.

566. The **Lombards** overpower the **Gepidæ**.

The **GEPIDÆ**, like the **Ostrogoths**, shook off the yoke of the **Huns** after the death of **Attila**, and established a powerful kingdom in **Upper Hungary** and **Transylvania**. When the **Ostrogoths** had been led by **Theodoric** into Italy, the provinces on the south of the **Danube** were endangered by the **Gepidæ**, who had rushed in to occupy the vacant space: their progress was checked by the **Lombards**, who had lately become the allies of **Justinian**. The wars between the rival nations lasted until *Alboin*, the young **Lombard** king, bought the aid of the **Avars** with a tithe of his cattle and the promise of all the conquests that should be made; at the tidings of which, *Cunimund*, the king of the **Gepidæ**, hastened to attack the **Lombards** before their new friends could join them, and was slain by them in a bloody battle, A.D. 560. The **Gepidæ** from henceforth ceased to be a nation: they were either incorporated with the **Lombards**⁴, or doomed to be the slaves of the **Avars**.

⁴ *Alboin* married *Rosamond*, the daughter of the fallen king.

THE SUEVIC (or *Middle German*) RACES.

- A.D. 406. *Battle of Florence; death of Radagaise.* Gunderic and the Vandals cross the Rhine.
409. The Vandals enter Spain.
428. Genseric succeeds Gunderic.
429. The Vandals invade Africa.
431. Genseric defeats Boniface.
439. Genseric takes Carthage.
455. *Genseric sacks Rome.*
460. 468. The Vandals destroy the Roman armaments.
477. Hunneric.
484. Gunthamund.
496. Thrasimund.
523. Hilderic.
530. Gelimer.
533. Belisarius takes Carthage, and defeats Gelimer.
534. *Belisarius destroys the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa.*

The SUEVIC races were of kindred origin with the Goths, and occupied the country between the Vistula, the Elbe, and the Danube. In the beginning of the fifth century, the further advance of the Huns caused great commotion among the Baltic tribes, and led them to unite under RADAGAISE, a pagan Goth, who then reigned on the most northern shore of Germany: and as the Roman legions had been lately withdrawn from the Rhine and the Danube, to defend the capital itself against the Visigoths, and the way to the south lay temptingly open; a swarm of heathen Vandals⁵, Sueves, Burgundians, and Alemanni, joined by numbers of the Scythian Alans (a people whom the Huns had overpowered), and by thousands of Gothic and Sarmatian adventurers, now issued forth to spread havoc over the Western Empire. One-third at least of this vast host, headed by Radagaise, rushed down from the Alps into Italy, in the spring of the year 406, and sweeping through

⁵ The Vandals soon afterwards embraced Arianism, like the Goths.

Lombardy, laid siege to Florence : Stilicho forced it back into the Apennines ; surrounded it with strong lines on the heights of Fiesole, and starved it into surrender. Radagaise was beheaded, and the remnant of his warriors sold for slaves. But though Italy was thus saved, the main body of the barbarians, whose strength was still unbroken, crossed the Rhine, on the last day of December⁶, never to retreat again ; so that most of Gaul was now lost by the Romans. When that wretched country⁷ was thoroughly ravaged, the invaders (with the exception of the Burgundians) threw themselves upon Spain.

The VANDALS, led by their king GUNDERIC⁸, crossed the Pyrenees with the Sueves and Alans, Oct. 409, and devastated the Spanish peninsula. After a while, they settled down in their conquests ; the Vandals and Sueves occupying ancient Gallicia, and the Alans, Lusitania and the province of Carthagera : Bætica, henceforth called Andalusia, was seized by the Vandal *Silingi*, a tribe shortly afterwards exterminated by the Visigothic allies of the emperor Honorius. When the Visigoths left Spain, the Vandals and Sueves came forth from the entrenched camps into which they had been driven, and quickly recovered the ground which they had lost : they also turned their arms against each other, a struggle in which the Vandals had the advantage. Gunderic, by whom the Romans

⁶ The Vandals, who led the way, had been repulsed at their first attempt to cross the river by the Frankish allies of the Romans, and their king was slain. But the Alans came to their support, and in a second battle the Franks were beaten.

⁷ The peasants of whole districts in Gaul, goaded to fury by the extortions of the Roman rulers, and the ruthless pillage which they suffered from the barbarians, fled (as had been done in the year 284) into the marshes, hills, and forests, and became robbers. They were, on both occasions, called *Bagaudæ*.

⁸ Gunderic was the son of king GODIGISCUS, who had been killed in the battle with the Franks before the Rhine was crossed.

were also ousted from the Balearic islands, died in the year 428, and was succeeded by his bastard brother, the crafty and savage GENSERIC.

Genseric, at the invitation of count *Boniface* (a Roman governor who had been unjustly recalled), passed over with the Vandals from Andalusia into Africa; and being welcomed by the persecuted Donatists⁹ and the discontented Moorish tribes, he devastated the unhappy Roman provinces from the Straits of Gibraltar to Carthage. Boniface, who had repented when too late, tried in vain to withstand the storm which he had raised. Beaten in the field, he successfully held out in the fortified city of Hippo¹⁰; but the loss of a second battle, after he had received succours both from Italy and the Eastern emperor, made him abandon Africa in despair, A.D. 431. The northern coast as far as Cyrene, all indeed but Carthage and a few districts, fell under the power of the barbarians; and when Genseric at last concluded a peace, he faithlessly broke it, and surprised and sacked Carthage, which became his capital, Dec. 439. Master of a rich and maritime territory, he created a navy: his fleets reduced Sardinia and Corsica; ravaged Sicily¹ and the shores of Italy; and enabled him to undertake a piratical expedition against Rome, which he pillaged for fourteen days, carrying away an immense booty and a multitude of captives, June 455.

⁹ The *Donatists* were seceders who had gone out from the Church in Diocletian's reign, on account of a disputed election to the see of Carthage. Maddened by persecution, they had become exceedingly fierce and fanatical.

¹⁰ During this siege (which began May 430, and lasted fourteen months), *St. Augustin*, the aged bishop of Hippo, breathed his last, Aug. 430. He was the great opponent of the Briton *Pelagius* (Morgan), the assertor of the extreme doctrine of free-will.

¹ At one time, Sicily was nearly conquered; but at the end of the century, it was possessed by the Ostrogoths, who ceded Lilybæum to the Vandals.

Two great efforts were made to crush the tyrant of the seas ; but owing to treachery and mismanagement, they came to nothing. On the first occasion (A.D. 460), Genseric, guided by intelligence from the false-hearted count *Ricimer*, came and set fire to the ill-guarded ships which the active emperor Majorian had collected in the bay of Carthage ; and eight years afterwards, a combined armament of the Eastern and Western Empires, which actually reached Africa, shamefully failed, *Basiliscus*, its commander, being either corrupt or incapable.

The reign of Genseric was often troubled by the outbreaks of his unruly followers ; nor did the bigotry with which, in his blind zeal for Arianism, he persecuted his native Catholic subjects, tend at all to strengthen the kingdom which he had founded. Still more cruel was the inglorious HUNNERIC, who succeeded to the throne on his father's death, Jan. 477² ; and when a loathsome disease had ended his days, Dec. 484, a like policy was followed by his nephews, the harsh GUNDIMUND and the accomplished THRASIMUND, the latter of whom when dying (May 523) obliged his cousin, the son of Hunneric, to swear that he would never tolerate the Catholics. The mild HILDERIC broke his oath, and restored peace and freedom to the African Church ; but he wanted energy, and was deposed and imprisoned, Aug. 530, by his kinsman GELIMER, against whom the emperor Justinian quickly declared war. Belisarius landed in Africa, defeated the usurper, and entered Carthage unresisted, Sept. 533 ; another victory, in November, broke all the remaining strength of the Vandals ; and in the course of the next year, Gelimer, who had fled into the mountain fastnesses of Numidia, yielded himself

² Hunneric, to secure the succession to his son *Hildicat* (who died before him), murdered his brother and most of his nephews. He likewise burned the Arian patriarch alive in the midst of Carthage.

up, and was carried away to Constantinople. With him ended the Vandal kingdom of Africa³.

A. D. 409. The Sueves enter Spain.

429. The Sueves occupy Bætica.

456. Rechiarus is overpowered by the Visigoth Theodoric II.

585. The Visigoths entirely conquer the Sueves.

The SUEVES, not content with their first conquests in Spain, easily seized upon Andalusia when the Vandals had passed over into Africa. Their empire, of which HERMENERIC was the founder, was broken to pieces when king RECHIARIUS⁴ was overthrown, Oct. 456, by the Visigoth Theodoric II.; but out of its wrecks, a new kingdom started up in the north-western part of the peninsula, of which Braga in Portugal was the capital. The Sueves were conquered at last by the Visigoths, in the year 585, when weakened by the dissensions to which the usurpation of ANDICA had given birth.

A. D. 245. The Burgundians are driven from the Vistula.

407. The Burgundians, under Gundicarius, finally cross the Rhine.

436. Gunteric succeeds Gundicarius.

463. Chilperic and his brothers reign together.

491. Gundibald murders Chilperic and Godemar.

501. Gundibald murders Godegisel.

502. Code of Gundibald ("les Gombettes").

516. Sigismund. Decline of Arianism.

523. Sigismund overpowered by the Franks. Godemar.

532. 534. The kingdom of Burgundy conquered by the Franks.

³ The Vandals, the most cruel of all German conquerors, had soon become indolent and luxurious.

⁴ Rechiarus (but according to others, RECHILA, his father) was the first Christian king of the Sueves. Some of the later kings were Arians; but the Catholic faith finally triumphed at the council of Braga, in the reign of THEODOMIR, A. D. 563.

The BURGUNDIANS⁵ had taken more kindly to tillage than the rest of the Suevic races; and, therefore, when they had crossed the Rhine with their king GUNDICARIUS, instead of roving through Gaul, they settled themselves in Modern Alsatia. From thence, having become allies of the emperor Honorius (whose supremacy they were ready enough to acknowledge), they were enabled to extend their boundary southwards to the lake of Geneva, the Rhone, and the Saone: Lyons and Geneva were their chief cities. On the death of GUNDERIC, who is said to have been the successor of Gundicarius⁶, the kingdom was ruled by his four sons, A.D. 463; and they enlarged it by fresh acquisitions⁷, but distracted it by their feuds. CHILPERIC and GODEMAR drove out GUNDEBALD: but the latter returned, and surprised his brothers in Vienne; killed Chilperic with his own hand, beheaded his two sons, and drowned his wife in the Rhone; then he set fire to a tower in which the unhappy Godemar had taken refuge, A. D. 491. About ten years afterwards, Gunde- bald also fell upon his brother GODEGISSEL (owing to whose treachery, he had lately been reduced to pay tribute to Clovis, king of the Franks); besieged him in Vienne;

⁵ The Burgundians (whose name is derived from burgh or borough, because they lived in villages and towns) were driven by the Gepidæ from the banks of the Vistula, in the middle of the third century; and after twice invading Gaul, they had settled in the Upper Rhine, near the Alemanni, with whom they had constant wars. Many of them were smiths and carpenters, and their industry caused them to be looked down upon by the rest of the barbarians. And in fact, like the Visigoths of Aquitaine, they seem to have gradually become less warlike, and thus were unable to withstand the Franks.

⁶ The "*hending*" (king) Gunderic is thought by some to have been the same person as Gundicarius.

⁷ Their kingdom comprised Burgundy and Franche-Comté, Switzerland, Dauphiné, and part of Provence (which, however, was ceded to Theodoric the Ostrogoth).

and when he had got into the town, dragged him out of a church and put him to death. As his Roman subjects were numerous and wealthy, he wisely sought to strengthen their attachment by a code of laws highly favourable to the rights of the vanquished race^a; and though he did not himself renounce Arianism, he allowed his children to be brought up in the Catholic faith. But the reign of his son SIGISMUND was most disastrous. This prince, who is foolishly honoured as a saint, was led by a wicked wife to cause SIGERIC, the offspring of a former marriage, to be strangled in his sleep, and thus lost the love of his people; so that when his cousin *Clotilda*, the widow of Clovis, burning to avenge the wrongs of her father Chilperic, of her mother and her brothers, had stirred up three of her sons to attack him, A.D. 523, he was delivered up to the victorious Franks, even though he had put on the garb of a monk and fled into a monastery. The next year, he and his wife and his two children were buried alive at the bottom of a well, at Coulmiers, by *Clodomir*, the king of Orleans: but the Burgundians had rallied round GODEMAR, another son of Gundibald; Clodomir himself was slain at Visironce on the Rhone, and at the sight of his head, which was lifted up on the point of a spear, the Franks retreated in dismay. The Burgundian kingdom, however, did not keep its independence long: it was again assailed by the Frankish princes, who divided it among themselves, A.D. 534, Godemar having been overpowered and taken prisoner.

A. D. 526. The Lombards disperse the Heruli.

The HERULI—a savage people, who were wont not only

^a These laws, known as “*Les Gombettes*,” are the oldest barbarian code extant: the more ancient code of the Visigoths is not to be found.

to destroy widows, but even their aged parents—were formidable as light infantry. Their migrations are not easily traced. They were chiefly settled in the southern provinces of what was afterwards called Poland, where they were dispersed, in the sixth century, by the Lombards.

A. D. 527. Hermanfred destroys his brothers.

528. Thierry, king of Metz, attacks Hermanfred.

530. Death of Hermanfred. The Franks conquer the Thuringians.

The THURINGIANS (who were perhaps a branch of the Goths, but with a large infusion of Suevic Heruli) had, by the end of the fifth century, spread from the Elbe and the Unstrut to the Neckar, and had established a great kingdom in central Germany⁹. But when they conquered Hesse, the country of the Catti, the horrible treachery and cruelty with which they treated the wretched inhabitants awakened deep indignation among the rest of the Franks; who, from henceforth, were always ready to league against them. On the other hand, they themselves were weakened by feuds, owing to the division of the kingdom between three brothers, HERMANFRED, BERTHAIRE, and BALDERIC (princes who had recently become Christians): for Hermanfred was unhappily stirred up by his ambitious wife *Amalberga*, a niece of the Ostrogoth Theodoric, to murder Berthaire¹, and to attack and destroy Balderic with the aid of *Thierry*, king of Metz, the eldest son of Clovis. Thierry, having been baulked of his share of the spoil, allied himself with his brother *Clothaire*, the king of Soissons, and

⁹ This kingdom comprised modern Saxony, Thuringia, part of Franconia, and the Upper Palatinate. Scheidingen on the Unstrut, near Naumberg, was the chief residence of the kings.

¹ Berthaire's daughter, *St. Radegunda*, was eventually married to Clothaire, the king of Soissons; who afterwards put her brother to death. She was allowed by her cruel and unfaithful husband to retire to Poitiers, where she founded a monastery, A.D. 544.

invaded Thuringia, A.D. 528 : he gained two great battles ; but being unable to get Hermanfred into his power, he invited the fugitive king to a conference, gave him rich presents, and assured him of his safety by the most solemn oaths. Hermanfred, while walking with Clothaire on the walls of Tolbiac, was suddenly hurled down from the rampart ; most of his children were seized and put to death² ; and the Thuringians were absorbed into the empire of the Franks, A.D. 530. The northern part of the conquered territory, beyond the Saal and the Unstrut, was assigned by the Franks to their confederates the Saxons.

A. D. 215. Confederacy of the Alemanni.

255. The Alemanni attack the Roman Empire.

271. Aurelian defeats the Alemanni.

357. Julian defeats the Alemanni at Strasburg.

368. The Alemanni defeated in Gaul.

496. *Battle of Tolbiac* ; Clovis subdues the Alemanni.

The ALEMANNI, or *Allemans*, as their name would indicate³, were a mixed body, formed, in the beginning of the third century, by the union of various Suevic tribes which dwelt southward of the Maine. Their chief strength was in their cavalry, which was combined with light infantry. They made many unsuccessful attempts on Gaul and Italy⁴ ; but established themselves on both sides of the Upper Rhine, and spread into Vendelicia and Rhætia. Their power was broken by Clovis, when they attacked the Franks : they were routed at Tolbiac (Zülpich), near Cologne, and their king slain, A.D. 496 ; after which they no longer existed as a great independent nation⁵.

² The rest escaped into Italy, with their mother, to the court of Theodotus, who was the brother of Amalberga.

³ *All* (that is to say all kinds of) *men*.

⁴ They were defeated by *Flavius Claudius, Aurelian, Julian* (especially at the battle of Strasburg), and *Valentinian I.*, by whose general, *Jovinus*, they were also beaten in Gaul.

⁵ Clovis left Alsatia and other districts to be governed by the

- A. D. 529. The Lombards enter Pannonia.
 566. The Lombards overpower the Gepidæ.
 568. *Alboin and the Lombards invade Italy.*
 569. The Lombards take Milan.
 572. Pavia surrenders.
 573. Alboin murdered. Cleph.
 575. Cleph murdered. Anarchy.
 576. Defeat of the Lombards in Gaul.
 586. Autharis revives the Lombard monarchy.
 590. Autharis dies. Theodolinda marries Agilulf.
 625. Theodolinda dies.
 636. Rotharis.
 643. Laws of Rotharis.
 662. Grimwald usurps the throne (died 671). Fall of Arianism.
 728. Luitprand (king in 712) takes Ravenna.
 729. The Greek exarch recovers Ravenna.
 744. Death of Luitprand.
 749. King Ratchis becomes a monk. Astulf.
 752. Astulf takes Ravenna.
 754. The Franks support the Pope against Astulf.
 756. The Pope again aided against Astulf. Desiderius.
 774. Pavia and Verona taken ; *Fall of the Lombard kingdom.*

The LOMBARDS, or LANGOBARDS⁶, dwelt, in the days of Augustus, between the Elbe and the Oder. Towards the end of the fourth century, they moved southwards from the Baltic, overpowering several Vandal tribes in the course of their migration⁷; and about the year 529, they had entered Pannonia, and were encouraged by the emperor Justinian to settle on the right banks of the Danube as a check upon the Gepidæ. When ALBOIN became their king, he made a league with the Avars and subdued the Gepidæ, the bravest of whom, according to the custom of then hereditary dukes ; but took possession of the country on both sides of the Rhine, from Cologne to Mentz, afterwards called France-Rhenane, or Franconia. The Alemanni in Rætia sought the protection of the great Theodoric, and did not submit to the Franks until the Ostrogothic empire had fallen.

⁶ They were probably so named from the length of their beards.

⁷ They defeated and dispersed the Heruli.

his nation, were incorporated among his troops ; but he gave up all his Pannonian conquests to his allies, and set forth at the head of a mingled host of Lombards, Goths, Sarmatians, and Saxons⁸, to invade Italy, April 568. The death of the warlike eunuch Narses⁹, at this crisis, had removed the only general who could have stopped them : Verona¹ opened its gates ; Milan was taken after a siege of five months, Sept. 569 ; and though Pavia held out until, at the end of three years, it was reduced by famine, almost the whole of northern Italy yielded without a struggle. Alboin, however, did not enjoy his triumph long. His career was cut short, June 573, by the vengeance of his wife *Rosamond*, to whom, in an hour of brutal revelry, he had once sent his horrible drinking cup, the skull of her father Cunimund (the vanquished king of the Gepidæ), filled to the brim with wine².

The cruel CLEPH, one of the Lombard chieftains, was now chosen king. He also was murdered, Jan. 575 ; and

⁸ There were no less than 20,000 Saxon adventurers among his followers. These Saxons afterwards quarrelled with the Lombards when they came to divide their conquests ; and after an attempt to seize Provence, returned to their homes on the banks of the Elbe, laden with booty.

⁹ There is a doubtful accusation against Narses of having invited the Lombards into Italy, when an attempt was made to supersede him at the close of his career.

¹ Verona, as well as Pavia, had been the residence of the great Theodoric ; who was called by the Germans, *Dietrich* (Thierry, or Theodoric) of *Bern* (Verona).

² The faithless queen got the armour-bearer *Helmichis*, her paramour, and a Lombard chieftain (whom she infamously beguiled), to murder her husband. She afterwards fled with her daughter and her followers to *Longinus*, the exarch of Ravenna ; who also became one of her admirers. Dreading the jealousy of her old lover, she now gave him a cup of poison ; but when Helmichis began to feel its operation, he put his dagger to her breast, and made her drain the rest of the draught and die with him.

for about ten years, the throne was in abeyance, and the nation was ruled by six-and-thirty dukes. During this interval, the conquests which had likewise been made in the south of Italy were much extended; yet the Lombards were beaten when they tried to overrun Gaul, and the tidings that the Franks were ready to league with the Greeks against them, led them to consolidate their strength by restoring the monarchy. The reign of **AUTHARIS**, the son of Cleph, was short, but brilliant. He took the imperial name of *Flavius*³, as a token that he claimed the sovereignty of Italy; repeatedly baffled the invasions of the Franks and Greeks, enlarging his dominions at the expense of the latter⁴; and finding that he could not put down the authority of the dukes, he obliged them to give him one-half of their revenues, and to serve him in war. Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento were the most important of these Lombard duchies.

On the death of Autharis, Sept. 590, at the time of the last inroad of the Franks, which, though successful at first, came to nothing, owing to the sickness which broke out among them; *Theodolinda*, his youthful widow⁵, was already so beloved by the Lombards, that they agreed to elect whomsoever she should take for her second husband. She gave her hand to her kinsman **AGILULF**, the duke of *Turin*, and prevailed upon him to embrace the Catholic faith; which, aided by her influence, began also to gain ground among her barbarian subjects, who hitherto had been either pagans or Arians. A few of the later kings

³ This was the family name of Constantine, and was assumed by his successors.

⁴ The Greek exarchate of Ravenna and its detached provinces of Rome, Naples, and Venice, were reduced by the conquests of Autharis and his immediate successors to the limits of the modern patri-mony of St. Peter, and a few maritime districts besides.

⁵ She was the daughter of Garibald, duke of Bavaria.

were heretics ; but, happily for the native Italians, as well as the new converts, they were very tolerant. One of these, ROTHARIS, who before his elevation had been duke of *Brescia*, reduced all the places in the north of Italy which still remained to the Greeks ; and in the written laws which he was the first to give the Lombards, Nov. 643, showed himself to have been in advance of his age. Arianism was finally ruined by the desertion of GRIMWALD, a duke of *Benevento* who usurped the throne in 662, and during a reign of about nine years, routed the Franks who had marched to restore the lawful king⁶, and crushed the efforts made by the unfortunate emperor *Constans II.* to recover what his predecessors had lost.

Troubled times now followed, until the accession of LUITPRAND, June 712. This prince (the son of a king of Bavarian origin) was remarkable for his wise laws, and for his bold attempt to conquer the whole of Italy. He once stormed and sacked Ravenna itself (A.D. 728), and was fast subduing the other towns in the exarchate, the loyalty of which had been much weakened by their opposition to the emperor Leo's late edicts against image-worship⁷; when pope Gregory II. stepped in, and tore most of the prey out of his grasp : *Orso*, the duke or doge of the rising state of Venice, was induced to come with a powerful fleet to the help of the exarch *Eutychius*, and Ravenna was retaken. Yet a reaction almost immediately ensued. Rome was provoked into open rebellion against the Greeks⁸; and

⁶ PERTHARIT, the exiled king, regained his throne after the death of Grimwald.

⁷ The exarch *Paul* had been lately murdered by the populace at Ravenna.

⁸ On this occasion, Luitprand readily joined the exarch in besieging Rome, A.D. 729 ; but was prevailed upon by Gregory II. to raise the siege.—The first attempt of the Lombards, under Agilulf, to take Rome (in the days of Gregory the Great, A.D. 693), had ended in a similar manner.

though the Pope's jealousy of Lombard encroachment led him to seek the alliance of the Franks, the feeling was not shared by the rest of the disaffected cities, several of which readily yielded themselves up to Luitprand. That monarch eventually died in peace with the Roman see, Jan. 744, having been prevailed upon by pope *Zachary* to restore all that had belonged to it; and the speedy downfall of his vicious nephew *HILFRANC* led to the elevation of *RATCHIS*, duke of *Friuli*, who, after a few years, resigned his crown and retired into a monastery, March 749, his wife and daughter likewise renouncing the world⁹. *ASTULF*, his brother and successor, made himself master of *Ravenna*, June 752, and put an end to the exarchate; but when, in the pride of his success, he threatened Rome, pope *Stephen III.* twice called in the aid of king *Pepin* and the Franks, who stripped him of his conquests. He was killed by a fall from his horse, Dec. 756; and in spite of the efforts of the revived ambition of *Ratchis*, who was forced by the Pope to return to his cell at *Mont-Casino*, *DESIDERIUS*, duke of *Istria*, was chosen king. *Desiderius* was the last of the Lombard sovereigns. He became involved in a struggle with the Pope and *Charlemagne* (the son of *Pepin*), which ended in his being led away into captivity, June 774, and in the fall of his kingdom.

A. D. 508. Theodon made duke of *Bavaria* by the *Ostrogoths*.

537. *Bavaria* divided into Upper and Lower.

588. *Bavaria* reunited by *Tassilo I.*, under the supremacy of the Franks.

788. *Tassilo II.* deposed by *Charlemagne*.

The *BAVARIANS* were probably an association of *Herulians*, *Rugians*, and other *Baltic* tribes, which had settled

⁹ He had quarrelled with the *Romans* and laid siege to *Perugia*: but pope *Zachary* came into his camp, and persuaded him to make peace and bethink himself of his soul.

in Noricum, and had also subdued most of modern Austria as well as the inhabitants of the Tyrol. Endangered by the Franks, about the beginning of the sixth century, they had sought the protection of the Ostrogoth Theodoric, and had agreed to receive THEODON as their duke; a chieftain descended from *Agilulf*, one of their ancient heroes. Thirty years afterwards, Bavaria was divided between two of Theodon's grandsons; but when GARIBALD, the duke of Lower Bavaria¹ (who had allied himself with the Lombards), was driven out of his dominions by the Austrasian Franks, the nation was reunited under the rule of the duke of Upper Bavaria, TASSILO I., A.D. 588². This latter prince, however, had acknowledged the supremacy of the Franks; which proved a bitter source of trouble to his descendants, and gave rise to struggles which ended in their overthrow. For TASSILO II., the last of the recreant dukes, impatient of subjection, and stirred up by his wife *Luitberga* (the daughter of the fallen Lombard king Desiderius), plotted with the Slavonians to attack Charlemagne; and being detected, was summoned before an assembly at Ingelheim, accused, and condemned to die, May 588.—His life was spared; but he and his children were forced to take either the cowl or the veil, and the line of Agilulf became extinct.

THE WESTERN GERMAN RACES.

A.D. 253. *The Barbarians invade the Empire.*

277. Probus defeats the Franks.

358. Julian defeats the Franks.

383. Death of Mellobaudes.

¹ Theodolinda, the famous Lombard queen, was the daughter of Garibald; and from his grandson *Aribert*, most of the later Lombard kings were descended.

² His grandson THEODON III., whose rule began A.D. 612, was induced by his wife, an Austrasian princess, to receive baptism from *St. Rupert*, the apostle of the Bavarians.

A. D. 394. Death of Arbogastes.

406. The Franks guard the Rhine against the Vandals.

432, 446. Ætius checks the Franks.

457. Childeric deposed by the Salian Franks.

464. Death of count Ægidius ; Childeric restored.

481. Clovis succeeds Childeric.

509. Clovis destroys the most of the Frankish princes.

The FRANKS were a confederacy of Low German tribes³, dwelling in the country between the Rhine, the Weser, the Maine, and the Elbe ; and are first met with in History about the middle of the third century. They then crossed the Rhine, and ravaged Gaul and Spain ; but were routed at last by Probus⁴, one of that series of valiant emperors by whom the territories of Rome were rescued from the barbarian swarms which had overrun them. Their subsequent inroads were repeatedly checked ; especially by Julian, when he resided in Gaul as Cæsar. Yet even Julian was obliged to let them settle on the left bank of the Rhine, in modern Brabant⁵ ; and they became useful

³ The FRANKS (or *Freemen*), as they proudly called themselves, are deemed by Niebuhr to have been the Sigambri : they seem, however, to have been the union of the Sigambri, Chauci, Chamavi, Cherusci, Bructeri, Cath, Tencteri, Angrivarii, Salii, Ripuarii, and other clans. They were governed by princes of a race called *Merovingian* (Meerwings), claiming to be descended from *Merovæus* (*Meer-wig*, Sea-Warrior), a hero who is thought by Sismondi to have been—not the Merovæus, who is said to have been the grandfather of Clovis, but—the chief whose genius combined the tribes in a powerful league to uphold their freedom. These princes wore long hair as a distinction.

⁴ A number of the discomfited Franks were settled by Probus in remote allotments near the mouth of the Phasis, on the coasts of the Black Sea. But the bold barbarians embarked on its waters, and, though mere landmen, succeeded in making their way through the straits of Gibraltar to the Rhine, after ravaging the shores and islands of the Mediterranean.

⁵ To the close of the fourth century, the Franks were divided by the Elbe from the Saxons, and by the Maine from the Swabians, or Alemanni. Large bodies of them were in the Roman service ; and

but dangerous allies of the Romans, from whom they would receive grants of land as rewards for their services. When, in spite of their brave resistance, the Rhenish frontier (of which, in fact, they were the only defenders) had been broken through by the Alans and Vandals, Dec. 406; they began to spread themselves more widely in Belgic Gaul, the settlements of the *Salian* Franks reaching from the Batavian islands to the banks of the Somme, while the *Ripuarians* had their dwellings in the districts between the Meuse and the Rhine.

Both of these branches were much weakened by the fatal custom of dividing the dominions of a deceased king among his children; so that none of their princes could now bring more than three or four thousand warriors into the field. Among the Salians, besides the exploits of the fabulous Pharamond, we hear indeed of the conqueror CLODION, and of a MEROVÆUS, who is said to have fought for Rome and Ætius against the Huns at Chalons; but though their names loom great in the obscurity of confused tradition, nothing certain can be told about them: they may never even have existed. Merovæus was believed to have been the father of CHILDERIC, a petty king of Tournay, whose profligacy was so hateful to his subjects, that they drove him into exile⁶, and placed themselves under the rule of count Ægidius: at the end of eight years, the count died, Oct. 464, and Childeric was recalled. The latter was succeeded, A.D. 481, by his son CLOVIS⁷, a

their kings, or chieftains, MELLOBAUDES and ARBOGASTES, were the generals of *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, to whom they proved dangerous servants. Mellobaudes was involved in the fate of Gratian; Arbogastes murdered Valentinian.

⁶ Childeric fled to the court of *Basin*, king of Thuringia, whose hospitality he afterwards requited by seducing and carrying away his wife *Basina*, who became the mother of Clovis.

⁷ ~~Childeric~~ (famed warrior), a name which has been softened into *and Lewis*.

prince who, by his conquest of Gaul and the ruthless destruction of most of the Frankish kings, changed the destinies of his nation, and laid the foundations of a mighty empire.

A. D. 371. The Saxons infest the coasts of Gaul.

515. The Saxons unite themselves with the Franks.

555. The Saxons break off with the Franks.

718—739. Wars of Charles Martel with the Saxons.

772. Charlemagne attacks the Saxons.

804. Charlemagne finally subdues the Saxons.

The SAXONS, about the middle of the second century, were an obscure tribe which dwelt in the isle of Heligoland, and on the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninsula, between the Eyder and the Elbe: to the north, as high up as the present town of Flensburg, were the ANGLES; and beyond these were the JUTES. Their situation led them to become fishermen and pirates; and their depredations were so successful, that they were joined by numbers of hardy warriors from the coasts of the Baltic, and still further strengthened by the accession of the neighbouring tribes to a league which insensibly developed into a mighty nation. Thus the name of Saxon came at one time to be common to the inhabitants of Jutland, Sleswick, Holstein, Westphalia, Saxony, Friesland⁸, Holland, and Zealand. In large flat-bottomed boats, framed of light timber and wicker work, with a covering of strong hides, these daring rovers would face the roughest seas⁹; and as early as the year 371, Britain and the maritime provinces of Gaul were

⁸ The FRISIANS lived on the northern coast of the Dutch, and in part of Westphalia; which country was divided by the Weser from Estphalia.

⁹ Their barks drew little water, and could not only run up the great rivers, but from their lightness might be carried in waggons from one stream to another; so that the pirates could reach the sea by a fresh outlet, and then increase their ravages.—In the fifth century, the *Chiules*, or war-ships, seem to have been made larger and more solid.

so infested by them, that it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without having recourse to treachery, that the generals of the first *Valentinian* were able to abate the nuisance. When the power of Rome had fallen, the Saxons gradually overspread the South of Britain; but were not much longer able to ravage Gaul, owing to its conquest by the Franks, with whom they soon found it better to be in friendship than at enmity. For nearly forty years, the two nations were closely united; until the Franks attempted to treat their allies as subjects, and sustained such a defeat that they were obliged to sue for peace, A.D. 555. But the danger which had thus been staved off, was renewed, after a long interval, by their expeditions under *Charles Martel* and his son *Pepin*; and by the wars of the emperor *Charlemagne*, at the end of which, after more than thirty years of battles, massacres, and fruitless efforts to regain their freedom¹⁰, the Saxons were driven to renounce heathenism, and to submit to the yoke of the Franks, A.D. 804.

THE NORTHMEN.

A.D. 400 to 500. The Swedes enter Scandinavia.

875. Era of the kingdom of Upsala.

1154. The Swedes conquer most of Finland.

The **SWEDES**, or *Svear*, in the course of the fifth century, came from Russia, through Finland, to the banks of the Mælar Lake, and settled in Upland¹, where was Upsala, their chief temple: from thence they spread, and peopled the neighbouring districts. They could not, how-

¹⁰ One of the most famous of their champions was the chieftain **WITTIKIND**.

¹ Afterward called *Manheim*, the home of the folk, or men.—The Swedes and the Norse brought in the use of iron, which the Scandinavian Goths were unacquainted with: they burned their dead and buried the relics in barrows. About the year 700, the use of iron became universal in Denmark.

ever, expel their kinsmen the Goths from Gothland; though towards the end of the ninth century, these last became subject to their kings, being still allowed to keep their own laws and customs. The kingdom then established at Upsala, after many struggles, gained strength; and the united Swedes and Goths at length overcame the Fins, who had for ages been in possession of Bothnia and Finland.

- A. D. 787. The Northmen begin to infest England.
- 863. Gorm the Old unites Denmark into a kingdom.
- 874. The Northmen discover Iceland.
- 875. Harold Harfagr unites Norway into a kingdom.
- 982. Rollo and the Normans settle in France.
- 983. The Northmen colonise Greenland.
- 1016. *Canute and the Danes conquer England.*
- 1043, 1071. The Normans conquer the South of Italy.
- 1066. *The Normans conquer England.*

The NORSE, or *Nordmænd*, came into Scandinavia somewhat later than the Swedes, and were obliged to go more northward. They settled themselves in Norway, and crossed over into the Danish isles; but were unable to drive out the Jutes from Jutland: they were also broken up into a number of petty states. At length, in the latter part of the ninth century, GORM the *Old*, king of Zealand², subdued Jutland and the neighbouring islands; and a similar union was formed, about the same time, in Norway by HAROLD the *Fairhaired* (HARFAGE)³. Thus the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway were founded.

² He was of the race of the *Skjoldings*, fabled to have sprung from *Skjold*, the son of Odin.

³ He was one of the *Ynglings*, a family which had once reigned among the Svear. He now conquered the Hebrides and Man, the Orkneys, the Shetland and Faroe islands; of which the Hebrides and Man were sold to Scotland, A.D. 1266, the mortgaged Orkneys and Shetlands being added in 1468. The *Jarls* or chieftains who

Nearly a hundred years before these changes had taken place, the *Normans* (as the Danes and Norwegians were called) had begun to ravage the more fertile shores of the South; and their Sea-Kings, or pirate chieftains, would now return home every autumn enriched with plunder, with cattle, and with slaves⁴. Being heathens, there was nothing to check their savage cruelty: they would wantonly inflict the most frightful torments, and violate the holiest sanctuaries. Germany, France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Italy, and even Greece and Northern Africa were visited by these hardy rovers, whose enterprising spirit, which, when they had discovered Greenland⁵, displayed itself in voyages to the north-eastern coast of America, beyond the limits of the known world—also led them to make lasting conquests.

Thus did the Ostmen⁶ keep their footing in Ireland until the days of the Plantagenet invasion; thus also did the Danes subdue Northumbria and East Anglia, and afterwards overthrow the Saxon kingdom of Ethelred; and thus did *Rollo* and his Norman comrades win for themselves one of the finest provinces of France, and their children become masters of Naples, Sicily, and England.

would not submit to his rule, either withdrew to Sweden or emigrated to Iceland, where a republican state was established, which was finally reduced by the kings of Norway in 1264.

⁴ The barrenness of the soil, and the rude state of tillage, had caused their increasing numbers to be straitened for subsistence; so that the younger sons had no other means of livelihood but their swords and their ships.

⁵ They colonised Greenland at the end of the tenth century; but by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the black death and other calamities had ruined their colonies.

⁶ *Ostmen* (men from the East), *Danes*, and *Normans*, were names almost indiscriminately given, in the Middle Ages, to the swarms of rovers who came from the shores of Scandinavia and Denmark.

THE GASCONS.

A. D. 581. The Gascons cross the Pyrenees.

602. Submission of the Gascons to the Franks.

The GASCONS were Basques⁷ who had crossed over the Pyrenees into Béarn, about the year 581, and had thence extended their ravages to the banks of the Garonne. They were checked at last by the Burgundian and Austrasian Franks, and obliged to receive a duke of their appointment, named GENIALIS, A.D. 602.

THE LETTES⁸.

A. D. 1218. Crusade against the Prussians.

1230. The Duke of Masovia cedes Culm to the Teutonic knights.

1283. The Teutonic knights complete the conquest of Prussia.

1525. The Teutonic knights lose Prussia.

The old PRUSSIANS, like all the other Lettish tribes, were known to the Romans and the earlier writers as *Æsty*i or Esthonians; but about the end of the tenth century, we read of *St. Adalbert* of Prague being martyred in Prussia. Somewhat more than two hundred years later, *Christian*, abbot of Oliva, undertook to be their bishop and apostle; who was so thwarted in his labours by a powerful pagan hierarchy, that the Pope published a crusade against them, and their country was wasted by fire and sword. These cruelties were retaliated by the warlike heathens on the Poles of Masovia, who had taken an active part in the war; and these last called in the Teutonic knights, ceding to them the territory of Culm and all the conquests which should be made from the common enemy, A.D. 1230. In about fifty years, Prussia was entirely sub-

⁷ Gascons, Vascons, and Basques, are all variations of the same name.

⁸ Of all the European languages, the Lettish dialects are nearest to the Sanscrit.

duced by the knights, many thousands of the old inhabitants having been destroyed and replaced by a swarm of German settlers : several towns and forts were also built to bridle the native population. It was lost to the order in the sixteenth century, and was eventually united to the dominions of the electors of Brandenburg, A.D. 1618⁹.

A. D. 1158. Discovery of Livonia.

1201. The Order of Christ founded.

1237. The Order of Christ amalgamated with the Teutonic knights.

1561. Treaty of Wilna ; Livonia dismembered.

1566. The archbishopric of Riga finally secularised.

LIVONIA was discovered in the year 1158, by some merchants of Bremen, who were driven on its shores when sailing to the far-famed port of Wisby in Gothland¹. Towards the end of the century, *Meinard*, a monk from Holstein, became its first bishop ; whose successor, *Berthold*, was killed in a crusade which had been undertaken against the unconverted pagans. *Albert*, the third bishop, who had lately built Riga, founded an Order of the Sword, which he endowed with a third of his conquests, A.D. 1201 : this order, also called the Knights of Christ, reduced Courland (A.D. 1230), but would have lost ground, had it not been made a branch of the Teutonic fraternity, May 1237 ; after which it was strong enough to subdue most of Livonia. A war with Russia, and the revolt of Esthonia (which had been purchased from the Danes), brought it to ruin ; and by the treaty of Wilna, Nov. 1561, the provincial master got the duchy of Courland for himself, and yielded up the rest of its possessions to the king of Poland, who also

⁹ For the way in which Prussia was lost by the knights, April 1525, see Part I., p. 80, note 3.

¹ Wisby—which is famous for its ancient commercial code—was then the great emporium of the North. It began to decline when it was sacked by Waldemar III., of Denmark, A.D. 1361.

secularised the archbishopric of Riga. In the sixteenth century, the Swedes took Livonia from the Poles; and in the early part of the seventeenth, it was conquered by the Russians.

A. D. 1119. Waldemar II. conquers Esthonia.

1347. Waldemar III. sells Esthonia to the Livonian knights.

1561. Esthonia revolts to the Swedes.

ESTHONIA (which had been subdued by the Danes, under *Waldemar II.*, in the beginning of the thirteenth century) was sold by *Waldemar III.* to the Livonian knights, June 1347. It eventually threw off the yoke of the order, June 1561, and gave its allegiance to the Swedes; by whom it was lost to the Russians, about the same time that Livonia was wrested from them.

A. D. 1252. Mendog becomes a Christian for a time.

1315. Gedimin grand-duke of Lithuania.

1386. Jagellon, grand-duke of Lithuania, king of Poland.

1387. Lithuania becomes Christian.

1569. Union of Lithuania with Poland.

The LITHUANIANS², who were originally settled on the banks of Niemen and Wilia, shook off the yoke of the Russians in the twelfth century, and crossing the Wilia, enlarged their territory at the expense of their old masters. Under GEDIMIN, who became grand-duke in the year 1315, they conquered Kiev itself and its dependencies, and reached the height of their greatness; but, after his death, they were weakened by repeated partitions, and Volhynia, Podolia, and other districts which had been won from the Russians and Tartars, were taken from them by the Poles. They also suffered much from a long and bloody war with the Teutonic knights, who would have made them their proselytes and their slaves.

² MENDOG, the son of RINGOLD, one of their early princes, became a Christian, A. D. 1152, and was complimented by the Pope with the title of king; but he soon apostatized.

The marriage of their grand-duke JAGELLON with the heiress of Poland, Feb. 1386, connected the Lithuanians with the Poles; and in the following year, the whole nation agreed to embrace Christianity, multitudes being baptized in a most slovenly manner. The grand-duchy, however, remained distinct from the kingdom to which it was now subordinate, until the union of the two countries was completed by the *Co-æquatio Jurium*, A.D. 1569, Lithuania keeping all her rights inviolate.

THE SLAVIC OR SARMATIAN RACES.

A. D. 453. Empire of the Huns broken up.

559. Belisarius defeats the Slavonians.

623. The Slavonians under Samo revolt from the Avars.

640. The Servians and Croats occupy Mæsia and Dalmatia.

789. Charlemagne attacks the Wilzes.

970. Dircislav, sovereign of Dalmatia and Croatia.

982. Revolt of the Wends in Germany.

1090. Death of Demetrius Zwonimir, the last king of Croatia.

1168. The Danes sack Arkona in Rügen.

The SLAVONIANS, after having been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Goths, and then of the Huns, regained their independence on the death of Attila. Their settlements spread over Mecklenburg³, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia⁴, Silesia,

³ Mecklenburg is the only place in which a Slavic dynasty reigns. In the twelfth century, PRIBISLAS—the son of NICLOT who fell in a war with the Saxons, A.D. 1159—became a Christian; whose descendants (made dukes by the emperor Charles IV., in 1348) divided, in the year 1658, into the branches of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Mecklenburg Strelitz.

⁴ The MORAVIANS, whose territories were eventually shared between the Hungarians and Bohemians, were the first Slavonians who became Christians. The Greek emperor Michael I. sent them two learned men, *Cyril* and *Methodius* (A.D. 863), who invented an alphabet, and translated the Scriptures into Slavic.

Poland, and Russia ; and they gradually gained possession of Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, Dalmatia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and part of Hungary. Thus they reached from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea.

It was in the sixth century that, from the countries in the neighbourhood of the Vistula, which the emigration of the Gothic nations had left vacant for them, numbers of the Slavonians went southwards in search of new abodes, and joined with the Bulgarians in striking at the very heart of the Greek empire : Constantinople was saved from them by Belisarius, A.D. 559. They then settled themselves, as enemies, on the banks of the Danube ; but at the end of the century, they were conquered by the Avars, from whom, before long, they successfully revolted, A.D. 623, SAMO being their leader. This man—a Frank who had renounced Christianity, and headed one of those convoys of armed traders which then carried the rich merchandise of Constantinople and the East, through the valley of the Danube, into western Europe—was obeyed as king by a confederacy of their tribes ; they became allies of the Greek emperor Heraclius, and agreed to drive the Avars from Illyria, by which they greatly extended their rule⁵. After the death of Samo, the league was broken up. The CZEKHS of Bohemia were eventually among the tributaries of Charlemagne and the early German emperors ; several of the southern Slaves submitted to the Lombard kings ; the SERBS and CHROWATS (Servians and Croatians), and other kindred races (as the WALLACKS who occupied Moldavia and Wallachia in the fourteenth century), have founded kingdoms and states which have been doomed to yield to the supremacy of the Hungarians and Turks, of the Austrians and Russians. Dalmatia, which was won by

⁵ Thus they got Slavonia, Croatia, Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia.

the Venetians after many struggles with Hungary, now belongs to Austria⁶.

The Slavic tribes in Germany, as the *Sorbes* in *Misia* and *Lusatia*, and the *Wilzes* in *Brandenburg*, were unable to withstand the Franks. But though they had been forced by *Charlemagne* and *Otho the Great* to become vassals, and (like their southern brethren) to renounce heathenism; in the year 982, the harshness of *Thierry*, margrave of the North, drove most of them into rebellion, and the federative commonwealth of the *Liutzians* was established in *Brandenburg*, and a monarchy of the *Wends*, of which the chief seat was in *Mecklenburg*. Against these relapsed heathens, fierce wars were waged for two centuries by the dukes of *Saxony* and the margraves of the North; and as the efforts of these princes were supported by crusades, and colonies of Germans were planted in the conquered districts, the Slavic inhabitants of the *March of Brandenburg*, of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, were either rooted out or lost among the Germans.—The very name of *SLAVE* has come to mean a bondman.

The *Wends* on the south-eastern shores of the *Baltic*, who were husbandmen, traders, and pirates, long remained *Pagans*. *Arkona* in *Rügen*, *Vineta* on the *Oder*, *Kiev*, and *Novgorod* were their great marts, and they united the commerce of the *Baltic* and the *Black Sea*. *Arkona*, the seat of a famous temple where the heathen rites were still

⁶ *DIRCISLAV* was declared sovereign of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia* (which had been hitherto governed by twelve *Zupans*) by the Greek emperors; and after the death of *DEMETRIUS ZWONOMIR*, the last king, A.D. 1090, the dread of the Venetians (who in 997 had already conquered the sea-ports of *Dalmatia*) induced the inhabitants of these countries to unite with Hungary. They became "*socia regna*," A.D. 1102. Venice however, by means of *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, eventually became mistress of *Dalmatia*, A.D. 1420, and kept it until her fall.

celebrated, was taken and sacked by *Waldemar I.*, king of Denmark, A.D. 1168; Mecklenburg and Pomerania were also pillaged and subdued by the Danes, but were recovered to Germany, A.D. 1223; Novgorod and Kiev became the capitals of powerful Russian dynasties⁷.

- A.D. 489. The Bulgarians make inroads on the Eastern Empire.
- 559. Belisarius saves Constantinople from the Bulgarians.
- 569. The Avars subdue the Bulgarians.
- 634. The Bulgarians under Kuvrat revolt from the Avars.
- 680. The kingdom of Illyrian Bulgaria founded.
- 865. Bogoris becomes a Christian.
- 1019. Basil II. conquers the Bulgarians.
- 1186. Bulgaria revolts from the Greeks.
- 1205. Calo-John takes Baldwin of Flanders prisoner.
- 1396. The Turks conquer Bulgaria.

The BULGARIANS, an equestrian people of Scythian origin from the Upper Volga, appeared on the Danube at the end of the fifth century, and made inroads against the Eastern Empire. Strengthened by the accession of the Slavonians,—they in fact became Slavonic, being absorbed into the more numerous race which they had subjected,—they attacked Constantinople in the palmy days of Justinian, A.D. 559; but they were routed by Belisarius, and were soon afterwards subdued by the Avars. Under the chieftain KUVRAT, after more than seventy years of bondage, they recovered their freedom; and when his empire was divided among his sons, ASPARUCH, who got for his share the country between the Danube and the Balkan, founded the kingdom of Bulgaria, A.D. 680. The baptism of king BOGORIS, A.D. 865, was followed by the conversion of his subjects; yet their manners were still barbarous, and they

⁷ The *Western* Slavic dialects are, 1. the Bohemian, 2. Polish, 3. Lusatian or Wend; the *Eastern*, 1. the Russian, 2. the Bulgarian, 3. the Illyrian.—The Russian is subdivided into *Great*, the language of Moscow, Novgorod, &c.; *Little*, that of Smolensk and Southern Poland; and *White*, which is also spoken in Lithuania.

were weakened by their feuds, and at length overpowered by the valiant Greek emperor Basil II., A.D. 1019. The yoke of the Byzantines was not shaken off until the year 1186, when PETER and ASAN, chiefs of royal blood, roused the spirit of their countrymen to defy the degenerate Isaac Angelus: their brother and successor CALO-JOHN overthrew Baldwin of Flanders, the Latin emperor, and took him prisoner. From the middle of the thirteenth century, Bulgaria was distracted with troubles and civil wars; so that at length it became tributary to Hungary, and was overrun by the Turks. These last completely conquered it, A.D. 1396.

THE SCYTHIAN RACES.

A. D. 375. The Huns partly subdue the Alans.

409. The Alans enter Spain.

417. The Alans overpowered by the Visigoths.

The ALANS, about the year 375, were dislodged by the Huns from the shores of the Caspian. The largest part of the vanquished people readily united with the conquerors; another division found a refuge in the mountains of Caucasus; the rest crossed the Don, their western boundary, and, pushing forwards into Pannonia, gave aid to the Visigoths in the war with Valens, and finally joined the Baltic tribes in the great emigration under Radagaise. After forcing the passage of the Rhine and ravaging Gaul, they entered Spain with the Vandals, Oct. 409, and settled in Lusitania and in the province of Carthagera; and there they were soon overpowered by the Visigothic allies of Honorius^{*}.

^{*} While yet between the Volga and the Don, the Alans, whose conquests and inroads had extended wide, had improved in features and complexion by an admixture of Sarmatian blood; so that they were less hideous than the Huns.

- A. D. 375. The Huns destroy the power of the Alans.
 376. The Huns break up the empire of the Goths.
 433. Attila and Bleda succeed Rugilas.
 441. Attila attacks the Eastern Empire.
 444. Attila puts Bleda to death.
 446. Theodosius II. makes peace with Attila.
 451. Attila invades Gaul. Siege of Orleans and *Battle of Châlons*.
 452. Attila invades Italy. Siege of Aquileia.
 453. Death of Attila. The empire of the Western Huns is broken up.

The hordes of HUNS which overran Europe, were offshoots of the Mongolian race in the table-lands of Upper Asia⁹. Moving westward along the shores of the Caspian, they drove the Alans before them, A. D. 375; as they further advanced, they overturned the monarchy of the Goths, A. D. 376; and after having roved for several years over modern Hungary, Poland, and Southern Russia, they made, under a chief named RUGILAS, fearful inroads into the Eastern Empire.

On the death of Rugilas, A. D. 433, his nephews ATTILA and BLEDA (*Etzel* and *Bledel*), the sons of *Mundzuk*, granted a humiliating peace to the Greeks. About ten years afterwards, Bleda was deposed and put to death by Attila; who also extended his sway over the German and Slavic nations, from the Rhine to the Volga, and was dreaded far and wide as "the Scourge of God¹." This fierce barbarian king had lately renewed the war with the

⁹ The common belief which derives the Huns from the country on the north of the Chinese wall, is branded by Niebuhr as false. He declares the causes of the migrations to be unknown.

¹ His rule did not reach so far as China, as Gibbon believed. Attila was a true Calmuck. He had a large head, swarthy skin, small and deep-sunk eyes, little or no beard, broad shoulders, and a short, square body, of great strength.

emperor Theodosius II. ; and after horribly ravaging his territories, and thrice defeating his armies with great slaughter, he extorted from him a yearly tribute and a large portion of Northern Thrace, A.D. 446. He had been instigated by the Vandal Genseric, who sought to hinder the Greeks from aiding Valentinian III. to recover Africa, by giving them employment at home : the same adviser, when in danger of being attacked by the Visigoths, likewise urged him to invade Gaul, whither he was also invited by some of the Barbarians who had felt the activity of Ætius. *Honoria*, the frail sister of Valentinian, eager to escape from the irksome restraint of a life of seclusion at Constantinople², had once sent Attila a ring with the strange offer of becoming one of his wives : as she bore the title of Augusta, he now demanded her in marriage, and half the Western Empire as her portion. With a vast host, of which the German tribes, headed by vassal kings,—the Ostrogoths, Gepidæ, Thuringians, Rugians, and Heruli,—were the main strength, he passed over the Rhine ; burned Metz and Tongres, putting the wretched inhabitants to the sword ; and penetrated to Orleans, which was garrisoned by a colony of faithless Alans. But the traitors were withdrawn from the place ; and the citizens were encouraged by their noble-minded bishop *Anianus* to hold out, until Ætius and his ally, Theodoric the king of the Visigoths, came up to its relief, June 451 ; on which Attila fell back towards Champagne. In the following September, on the plains near Châlons³, a bloody battle was fought, in which, besides the Visigoths, the majority of the

² This princess, who had misbehaved herself when about sixteen, had lived for some years with the maiden sisters of the Eastern Emperor. When Attila claimed her to be his wife, she was married, for form's sake, to some unimportant person, and shut up in prison.

³ *Catalaunici Campi*, which, however, may mean Champagne.

Franks and Burgundians stood firm by Ætius⁴: and though the treachery of the Alans enabled the Huns to break through his ranks, and Theodoric himself was killed; the decisive charge of Thorismund, the son of the fallen king, won for Rome the last of her victories, in which indeed her degenerate children had little share. The Huns withdrew behind their waggons, and were afterwards allowed to retreat unmolested.

The next year, when the winter was over, Attila burst into Italy. Ætius now found himself bereft of his barbarian allies, and the Huns had it all their own way: they sacked and ruined Aquileia, where alone they had met with serious resistance; they destroyed Padua, and pillaged Milan and countless other towns; and throughout Lombardy, they dealt such havoc and slaughter, that the people fled for their lives into the marshes, and into the islands in the Adriatic⁵. The timid Valentinian sent an embassy from Rome, headed by pope *Leo the Great*, to purchase peace. The promise of Honoria's hand, with an immense dowry, prevailed with Attila, whose army was becoming enervated by the climate, and suffered much from sickness caused by gluttony and excess.

About a twelvemonth after his return to his wooden palace and royal village in the plains of Upper Hungary, Attila, while waiting for Honoria, married a beautiful maiden. He died in the night, choked with blood, having burst an artery; and he was hardly cold in his hidden grave, into which the spoils of nations were thrown, when the German tribes rose against the Huns, and became free. ELLAC, his eldest son, was overpowered in battle by them, and slain; the bold, but rash DENGISICH stood his ground for some years on the banks of the Danube, and then rushed

⁴ The rest of their countrymen fought for Attila. Ætius had likewise Alans, Saxons, and Armoricans in his service.

⁵ Thus were the foundations laid of the future greatness of Venice.

in despair against the Eastern Empire and perished,—his head was exposed in the Hippodrome at Constantinople; and **IRNAC**, the youngest, withdrew with the rest of the horde into Little Tartary, where it was soon afterwards subdued by the **Igours** who had come down from Siberia.

A. D. 560. The **Avars** subdue the **Bulgarians**.

566. The **Avars** occupy the territory of the **Gepidæ**.

581. The **Avars** reduce the **Slavonians**.

598. The **Avars** overrun **Dalmatia**.

626. **Constantinople** is besieged by the **Avars**.

640. The **Bulgarians** independent of the **Avars**.

796. **Pepin**, the son of **Charlemagne**, routs the **Avars**.

The **AVARS** are said to have been **Igours**, settled north of **Circassia**, who were subdued by the **Turks** in the middle of the sixth century. Part of the vanquished, scorning to be bondmen, marched away towards the West by the well-known road of the **Volga**: they were then taken to be the remains of the **Avars**, a nobler race, whose empire the **Turks** had likewise overthrown. When they had reached the **Danube**, they conquered the **Bulgarians** and many of the **Slavonian** tribes; with the aid of the **Lombards**, they seized upon the country of the **Gepidæ**; and at the end of the century, **BAIAN**, their brave but perfidious **Chagan**, successfully waged war with the **Greeks**, and gained possession of **Dalmatia**. In the year 626, they joined with the **Persians** in besieging **Constantinople**, while the valiant emperor **Heraclius** was in **Asia**: but they were baffled by the spirited defence of the citizens, and with their vassal host of **Gepidæ**, **Russians**, **Bulgarians**, and **Slavonians**, were forced to retreat⁶.

The loss of **Dalmatia** (subdued by the **Croatians** and **Servians**), the revolt of **Bulgaria**, and the reduction of the eastern part of their territory by the **Chazars**, greatly

⁶ They ruled at one time over **Dalmatia**, **Hungary**, **Poland**, and the **South of Russia**.

weakened the Avars; who at one time had ruled from the Volga to the Ems and the Saale. Yet they were still powerful in Hungary, until their divisions encouraged Charlemagne to attack them. An army under his son *Pepin*, penetrated to the Ring, a fortified camp, rich with spoils, which served them for a capital, A. D. 796; and the nation was broken up and lost among the Slavonians.

A. D. 622. The Chazars aid Heraclius against the Persians.

680. The Chazars subdue the Magyars.

850. Christianity introduced among the Chazars.

1016. The power of the Chazars falls to pieces.

The CHAZARS were a people of Turkish origin, much dreaded by the Persians, who built the Caucasian wall as a barrier against them; and they gave aid to Heraclius in his wars, though no friends to the Byzantines. In the seventh century, they extended their rule over the Crimea and the countries on the north of the Caspian and the Euxine: they also made the Magyars acknowledge their supremacy. Christianity was introduced among them, A.D. 850; but they were remarkable for the laxity of their creed, all sects to them being alike'. About the year 1016, their power fell to pieces.

A. D. 680. The Magyars or Hungarians tributary to the Chazars.

889. The Magyars under Arpad occupy Dacia.

892. The Magyars attack the Moravians.

894. Death of Zwentibold; Moravia dismembered.

900. The Hungarians begin to ravage Italy.

924. The Hungarians burn Pavia.

933. Henry the Fowler defeats the Hungarians at Merseburg.

955. Otho the Great routs the Hungarians on the Lech, near Augsburg.

972. The Hungarians become settled under Geisa.

997. St. Stephen succeeds Geisa.

1000. Hungary becomes a kingdom.

⁷ With the German divines therefore, *Ketzer* (Khazar) means a heretic, and *Ketzerei* heresy.

The **MAGYARS**, or *Hungarians*, who were of Fennic race, came from the country on the north of the Caspian Sea, between the Volga, the Kama, and the Ural Mountains; and were for a long time tributary to the Chazars. At length, about the end of the ninth century, being ousted from their abodes by the Petschenegans⁸, they were led onwards into Dacia by **ARPAD**, a chieftain from whom came the first dynasty of their kings. They were induced by *Arnulf*, the German emperor, to attack the Slavic Moravians, who then formed a powerful state, of which the boundaries reached from the Elbe to the Danube and Morava: and though driven out of most of their settlements in Dacia by their old enemies the Petschenegans, they soon got a large share of the Moravian territory⁹, and conquered Pannonia and part of Noricum from the Germans.

The Hungarians, at this time, were ruled by eight princes, one of whom was held to be of higher rank than the rest, though his power was very limited. Their light cavalry more than once discomfited the Bulgarians, and infested the Eastern Empire; they swarmed over Germany (which they forced to pay them tribute), over Burgundy, Southern France, and Northern Italy, burning, killing, carrying away captives, wasting the open fields, and some-

⁸ The **PETSCHENEGANS** (called *Patzinaces* by the Greeks whom they harassed), a Turkish race from between the Volga and the Jaik, having been themselves expelled by the **UZES** or **CUMANS**, drove out the Magyars from the country between the Don, the Dniester, and the Dnieper, about the year 885. They were finally overpowered, A.D. 1070, by the Cumans; who, in their turn, were subdued by the Moguls, and large colonies of them were admitted into Hungary, A.D. 1239. These had also settlements in Moldavia.

⁹ They were favoured by the troubles which had broken out among the Moravians after the death of their king *Zwentibold* (*Swiatopolk*). That part of the Moravian territory which lay between the Morava and Bohemia, fell under the power of the dukes of Bohemia.

times even storming cities, like Bremen or Pavia, and laying them in ashes. Their inroads were checked by the victories of the Germans under *Henry the Fowler*, at Merseburg (A.D. 933), and *Otho the Great*, on the Lech, near Augsburg (A.D. 955); after which, they began to take to a more settled manner of living¹, especially when *Geisa*, who married a Bavarian princess and was converted to Christianity, had become their duke, A.D. 972. On the death of *Geisa*, A.D. 997, his son, *St. Stephen* of Hungary², still further consolidated the power of the house of *Arpad*; and in the closing year of the tenth century, received from pope *Sylvester II.* (the famous *Gerbert*) a crown and the title of king.

A.D. 1453. *The Turks take Constantinople.*

The OTTOMAN TURKS have been already treated of³.

SECTION II.

OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM AND THE INSTITUTIONS CONNECTED WITH IT.

Neither the history and manners of the Middle Ages, nor even the laws and usages of a great part of modern Europe, can be understood without some knowledge of the Feudal System⁴, of which the chief seats were in France,

¹ Tillage was improved by the number of industrious captives brought from all parts of Europe; and several colonies of Slavonians and Bulgarians, with a slight sprinkling of Germans, were admitted into the country.

² His heathen name was *Waic*. He was baptized on St. Stephen's day.

³ So have the other Mahometan invaders of Europe, the SARACENS from Arabia, and the MOORS from Africa.

⁴ This subject of the Feudal System has been so admirably treated

Germany, England, the south of Scotland, the Spanish kingdom of Arragon, the Norman kingdom of Naples, and the Christian states in Palestine. In Castille and Portugal there were a few instances of Feudal tenures.

Rise and Development of the Feudal System.

When the barbarians settled in the countries which they had won, they seized a considerable share of the lands for their own use⁵. Part of these were portioned out among the whole body of the conquerors, and were called *Alodial*⁶; being held free, and likewise inherited by all the children alike, with the exception of *Salic* land in France, to which females could not succeed. The rest were reserved for the king, and were termed *Fiscal*.

Fiscal land was not kept altogether in the hands of the sovereign: much of it was assigned to favoured subjects, for life, under the name of *Benefices*, or *Fiefs*⁷. These grants (owing to the defective state of the circulation, which made it difficult for the king to get his rents in money) were bestowed, instead of pensions and salaries, on the dukes and counts who governed under him, and on the officials and retainers who crowded his court⁸. The pos-

by MR. HALLAM in his work on the MIDDLE AGES, that it is necessary to follow closely in his wake.

⁵ The followers of Odoacer and the Ostrogoths in Italy took one-third; the Burgundians, Visigoths, and Sueves, two-thirds; the Vandals seized all the best lands; and the Lombards exacted a third part of the produce.

⁶ The term *Alodium* has been derived from *loos*, lot: it probably comes from the words *all* and *odh*, property. In the Orkneys, the alodial proprietor is still called an *Udaller*; and the Teutonic word *adel* or *ethel*, noble, is thought to have originally had the same sense.

⁷ *Fief*, or *Feudum* (of which the older forms are *Feum* and *Fevum*), is best derived from *feh*, fee or pay, and *odh*, property.

⁸ The retainers, or *Vassals* (from the Celtic *Gwas*, a Servant),

session of land soon gives rise to rights of ownership ; so that fiefs gradually became hereditary. Beneficiary Tenants, being more closely connected with the crown than the Alodial proprietors, were also deemed peculiarly bound to its service in war.

The Crown *Vassals*—as the holders of such grants were called—naturally adopted the same means of remunerating their dependents, and had vassals of their own. This practice of *Sub-infeudation* rapidly gained ground ; and in the tenth century, when the degenerate successors of Charlemagne were unequal to the rule of the mighty empire which he had created, the Feudal system developed itself. The dukes and counts⁹ now encroached upon the authority of the sovereign, only acknowledging his feudal superiority¹; their offices, like the fiefs, were inherited by their families, and their wives assumed the titles of the husband's rank. Owing to the oppression of these potentates, the owners of Alodial lands—who also lived in dread of the Normans, or of the Hungarians, or of the ruffian nobles who dwelt in the neighbouring castles—were often driven to buy the protection of some powerful lord, by yielding up their property, and receiving it back as a benefice subject

were the Fideles, Leudes, and Antrustions of France, and the Gaisindi of Italy.—A small body of faithful dependents would give great power to the sovereign in a turbulent and disunited state of society.

⁹ *Dukes* were the rulers of large provinces. Those of the Alemanni and Bavarians belonged to the families of their ancient sovereigns. *Counts* were the governors of smaller districts. The count, or *graf*—in England, *gerefa* (or reeve) meant, not the count but the deputy—administered justice, kept the peace, collected the revenue, and led the freeholders into the field. In Burgundy, the royal forces were under the command of the *Patrician*, a name which was also borne by the highest officer in the later Roman empire.

¹ Charlemagne (like William the Conqueror in England, and the Christian kings of Jerusalem) demanded an oath of allegiance from the vassals of mesne-lords ; but his successors could not enforce it.

to the usual burthens ; or else they would pay a large fee for his help, a practice which bore name of *Personal Commendation*¹. Thus, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, most of the Alodial freeholds were changed into Feudal tenures.

The Rights and Duties of the Feudal System.

In the Feudal System, the vassal owed service to his lord, and the lord owed protection to his vassal in return : should either party fail in their contract, the one forfeited his fief, the other lost his rights of lordship. If the sovereign refused his vassals justice, they might (more especially in France) even renounce his homage, and summon their own tenants to aid them in obtaining redress by arms². Owing to such principles, a number of feuds, or private wars, arose ; the miseries of which the clergy tried to alleviate, by causing such strife to be suspended on certain days and seasons. This was termed the Truce of God.

Vassals were obliged to attend their lords' courts ; to keep his secrets ; to reveal all plots against him ; to respect the honour of his wife, and of his unmarried sisters and daughters while under his roof, and not to hurt him in body or estate ; to defend his person ; to follow him into the field ; to lend him their horse, when he was dismounted ; and to go into captivity as hostages for him, when he was taken. The period of service was in most cases limited to forty days³ ; but in after times, this at-

¹ Monasteries would often commend themselves to a lord's protection, who was called their *advocatus*.

² After a reconciliation, the homage was renewed.

³ St. Lewis increased it to sixty days ; in the kingdom of Jerusalem, it extended to a year ; and in the north of England, service of castle-guard was unlimited.—Men turned of sixty, magistrates, and women might send substitutes.

tendance might be compounded for by the payment of *Escuage* or *Scutage*.

When a fief was conferred, *Homage* was paid for it, which could only be received by the lord in person. The vassal, bare-headed, with belt ungirt and sword and spurs removed, knelt down, and putting his hands between those of his lord, promised to become his man ; for the sake of his lands, to serve him with life and limb and worldly honour, faithfully and loyally. An *Oath of Fealty* was also required from the holder of every fief, which might be received by proxy ; and possession was given him by a formal act termed *Investiture*⁵.

The FEUDAL INCIDENTS, as they are so called, to which vassals were also subject, were :—1. *Reliefs*, or payments made by heirs on succeeding to a Benefice⁶ ; 2. *Fines*, upon alienation of land, in consideration of the lord's consent ; 3. *Escheats*, and 4. *Forfeits*, or the return of land to the feudal lord, when there was a failure of heirs, or the vassal had lost his rights by delinquency against his lord or the state ; 5. *Aids*, or contributions of money, which subsidies, by Magna Charta, the customs of France⁷, and the law of *William I.* of Sicily, were restricted to such occasions as the knighting of the lord's eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, and the ransoming of his person from prison. In England and Normandy, and

⁵ Investiture was either *proper*, when the lord or his deputy gave possession, "livery of seisin," on the ground itself ; or *improper*, when it was done symbolically, a stone, for instance, a turf, a clod, or a branch being handed over to the vassal.

⁶ Reliefs in France seem to have been commonly paid only in cases of collateral succession.—Among the Anglo-Saxons, on the death of a Thane, horses, arms, and sometimes money, were given to the lord as his due : this was called a *heriot*.

⁷ It had been customary, especially in France, to demand an aid for paying the lord's Relief ; or for enabling him to march to the Holy Land ; or for marrying his sister or eldest son.

in some parts of France and Germany, the lord had also the incidents of *Wardship* and *Marriage*; that is to say, he was the guardian of his tenants while they were under age, and could force his wards to marry whomsoever he would⁸.

There were also *Fiefs of Office*, which were held by the condition of performing some mechanical art, or domestic service, for the lord. To this class belongs the tenure of *Grand Serjeantry*, which binds the owners of certain lands in England to discharge some office about the king, or to wait upon him at his coronation.

The alienation of fiefs was checked in England by the practice of entails; and in other countries, by a law which gave the kinsmen of the vendor the right of claiming the estate from the buyer, at the price for which it had been sold⁹. This might be done at the time of the sale, or within a twelvemonth (or some such stated period) afterwards. The division of baronies among a number of heirs, was obviated on the continent, where unmodified primogeniture was unknown, by the custom of assigning to the younger sons a provision, or *apanage*, in money; yet the smaller fiefs were often shared among brothers, the eldest (who commonly had the chief portion) doing homage to the lord for the whole, and receiving it from his fellow-heirs who held under him¹. When Germany fell into a state of anarchy, even the great duchies were weakened by sub-division.

Nobility was, at first, territorial. All the crown vassals belonged to the order of *Barons*, and titles were also assumed by the rich Alodial landowners and by sub-vassals:

⁸ The king's, or the meane-lord's consent was also very commonly required for the marriage of their vassals' daughters.

⁹ This *jus prioritatis*, as it was called, is the *Retrait Lignager* of the French Law.

¹ This was the tenure by *fréage*.

every possessor of a fief was a gentleman. *Philip the Hardy*, however, in the year 1271, introduced the practice of granting letters of nobility ; knighthood, and the higher magistracies also conferred gentility and its privileges ; and the invention of surnames and of armorial bearings, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, likewise tended greatly to make the distinctions of rank more personal. At length, the line was drawn between the gentleman and the churl, or, as the French would term it, between the *noble* and the *roturier*² ; and in several instances, men of plebeian birth were not allowed to possess fiefs³. No territory immediately held of the German empire, could be inherited by a man whose parents were not both of them noble.

In France, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the peers and barons—like the feudatories of Germany in a later age—had become almost independent of the crown. They would coin money in their own name ; they would wage private wars ; they would pay no taxes, except the feudal aids ; they would submit to no legislation ; and they claimed the exclusive right of judicature in their own territory. But from the end of the twelfth century, these dangerous privileges were resisted with increasing success by the French kings ; and the able, but unscrupulous policy of Philip Augustus, *Philip the Fair*, and *Lewis XI.*, undermined, and broke up the power of a system which

² The lower classes were divided into *Freemen* and *Villeins*. To the former belonged the Citizens and Burgesses of Chartered towns, and the Freeholders, or Socagers, and yeomen of the country. The *Serfs*, or Villeins, were attached to the soil, and subjected to different degrees of slavery. Owing to the influence of the clergy, they were almost entirely emancipated in England, France, Italy, and part of Germany, by the end of the fourteenth century.

³ In the time of Philip the Fair, it became the right of the French crown to take, every twenty years, and on every change of the vassal, a fine called *franc fief*, from roturiers who possessed land held by a noble tenure.

was no longer suited to the wants of the times, and had become a grievous nuisance⁴.

Legislation and Legislative Assemblies.

The barbarian kings could not make laws, nor impose taxes, at their will and pleasure; national assemblies were held, in which nothing was enacted without the consent of the freemen. In the course of time, great changes were wrought in these councils by the usages of the feudal system, and by the adoption of the principle of representation; yet the custom may be deemed to have given birth to the diets of Germany and the other parliamentary institutions of Europe⁵.

In France, however, where feudalism was most developed, national assemblies fell wholly into disuse, about seventy years after the death of Charlemagne. It was indeed the custom for kings and chief feudatories to gather their dependents around them at the grand festivals, or tides; and at these meetings, which were called *parliaments*, it is not improbable that the lord would confer with his lieges on matters of business. But owing to the weak-

⁴ The right of waging private war was moderated by St. Lewis, checked by Philip the Fair (who likewise put restrictions on the right of coinage), and almost entirely suppressed by Charles VI.

⁵ Under the Merovingian kings, the army was yearly reviewed at the Field of March (*Champ de Mars*); and an assembly was held, in which all freeholders might take part, though, of course, the great dignitaries in church and state had the chief influence. These meetings (which were commonly at Cologne, Treves, or Andernach), having been discontinued, were revived by Pepin, who summoned them in the month of May. Under Charlemagne, two *placita* or *diets* were annually convened: one in May, for all regulations of importance, at such places as Aix, Ingelheim, or Worms; the second (to which only dignitaries were summoned), in the autumn, for *affairs*. Before these, the sovereign laid short proposals, *proposals*, for their sanction.

ness of the French sovereign, the great vassals scorned to attend the court ; whereas in England, where the Norman government was powerful, the parliament was kept up in its full splendour, and became an important part of the constitution. Hence the difference of authority in the English and French parliaments, which was one of the causes of the superior freedom of England.

During the thirteenth century, the French crown was greatly strengthened by the annexation of Normandy and Thoulouse ; and in the beginning of the fourteenth, A.D. 1302, Philip the Fair broke down the legislative independence of his vassals by convoking the *States General*⁶, in which, besides the deputies of the clergy and nobles, were those of the *Tiers Etat* or Third Estate. Thus the right of making laws, and of taxation, was imparted to the people ; yet the nobles still remained exempt from imposts, and the burthens of the state fell upon the Roturier. These assemblies being favourable to liberty, some of the later kings bethought themselves of summoning *Provincial States*, which were more manageable. The lawyers enabled the crown to encroach still more ; so that Lewis XI., who carried the practice of levying money without the consent of the nation farther than any of his predecessors, was said to have put the kings of France "*hors de page*."⁷

The Administration of Justice.

As most offences among the Barbarians—even murder itself⁸—might be atoned for by a fine, the administration

⁶ This assembly sat in three chambers. The decisions of its members required the consent of their constituents, a circumstance which greatly damaged its authority.—Its first subsidy was granted, A.D. 1314.

⁷ That is to say, made them their own masters.

⁸ The fine for murder varied according to the rank of the person.

of justice was a profitable business. The possessors of fiefs sought therefore to get it as much as possible into their own hands ; and they became in different degrees¹ exempt from the jurisdiction of the king's judges¹, whose authority was likewise lessened by the sub-infeudations which so rapidly thinned the numbers of the free alodialists. It was, however, laid down as a rule, that no lord could sit personally in justice : his powers were delegated to his bailiff and vassals². Owing to the reckless perjury of witnesses, and the want of discrimination in these rude judges, matters were sometimes decided by means of *ordeals*,—a thing which, though carried on and countenanced by the clergy, was a trace of heathenism, and more than once condemned by eminent bishops of the church. Recourse was also had to the expedient of bringing forward compurgators, or *consacramentales* ; and above all, to the famous Trial by Battle, in which it was supposed that God

slain. The penalty for the murder of a Roman—unless he were a church dignitary—was less than what was paid for that of a barbarian of a similar condition.

⁹ Only those lords who had the high jurisdiction (*la haute justice*), had the power of life and death. An exception was often allowed in the case of a thief caught in the fact ; who might be summarily executed : this was the *infangthef* and *outfangthef* of our Saxon laws.—In Arragon, a lord who had only the lower jurisdiction, might starve the murderer of his vassal to death.

¹ The ancient barbarian jurisdictions were of a popular character. Petty causes were decided by the *decanus*, or tything man, and by the *centenarius*, or hundreder ; the more weighty, by the *count* and the *Rachinburgii*, who were freeholders. These last, in Charlemagne's age, were superseded by *Scabini* (échevins) or assessors, who were chosen with the concurrence of the people. An appeal seems to have lain to the *count palatine*, and sometimes to the sovereign himself.

² The delegate of an ecclesiastical lord was an *Advocate* or *Vidame*, which office was often hereditary. The *viguiers* (*vicarii*), bailiffs, *advocates*, and seneschals of lay lords were similar, but of rather less rank.

would interfere and defend the right³. In this last case, the accuser, if defeated, was subject to the punishment which his adversary, if convicted, would have received.

The feudal rights of judicature in France were first encroached upon by Philip Augustus. By an ordinance made on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land, June 1190, he established *Royal Courts*, held by bailiffs or seneschals (the latter of which names was more common in the southern provinces); and in a very short time, in a variety of cases, termed royal, the territorial courts were pronounced incompetent. In Germany, a high court of appeal, called the Imperial Chamber, was created in the year 1495, at the close of the Middle Ages.

The barons of France were tried by the *Council* or *Court of Peers*; which was composed of the tenants-in-chief of the king and his household officers, and likewise heard appeals for denial of justice. The appellate jurisdiction having been much increased in importance after the ordinance of Philip Augustus, St. Lewis introduced counsellors of inferior rank, as advisers; who acquired by

³ Except in England, an appeal against an inferior jurisdiction was also thus tried. If the appellant challenged the whole court, and defeated all its members within the day, the judges were put to death, and their jurisdiction destroyed for ever; but if he only challenged the first judge who gave a hostile sentence,—which was to be done at once,—the decision was simply reversed. The second witness against a man might also be challenged.

Though the belief that God would interfere, had rendered this practice less mischievous in a superstitious age, the incomparable St. Lewis abolished it throughout the royal domains; and in appeals from inferior jurisdictions, he forbade it when the facts were notorious, or the judges clearly in the right. In *civil suits*, all might adopt the law of his “Establishments,” instead of having recourse to fighting. The manners of the age having become gentler, and the old faith in the Wager of Battle weakened by experience and the steady opposition of the clergy, men naturally preferred the wisdom and equity of the new code.

degrees a right of suffrage, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the addition of a few prelates and nobles, already constituted the famous *Parliament of Paris*⁴. The prelates and nobles were irregular in their attendance, and soon withdrew altogether; so that, at length, all the presidents and counsellors were lawyers, unfriendly to the privileges of the feudal aristocracy, and upholders of the royal prerogative⁵. And as the ordinances of the sovereign had been wont to be made by the advice of his council, it also became customary to register the king's edicts in the parliament of Paris; which often distinguished itself, on such occasions, by remonstrating against illegal acts, and even sometimes refusing to record them. This sole remaining safeguard of liberty in France, was strengthened by an ordinance of Lewis XI., which declared the presidents and counsellors of parliament to be immoveable, A. D. 1468.

Decline of the Feudal System.

The necessity which was gradually felt of substituting well-trained mercenary troops for an irregular and disorderly host of feudal retainers, rendered military tenures less

⁴ Other Parliaments were afterwards established at Thoulouse, Rouen, Bordeaux, Dijon, Grenoble, Aix, Rennes, Pau, and Metz.

⁵ As late, however, as the fourteenth century, the PEERS OF FRANCE—a title which had become restricted to a few great vassals—sat in the parliament. To the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Guienne, and the counts of Thoulouse, Flanders, and Champagne, the six temporal peers, had been added, in the reign of Philip Augustus, six spiritual peers; the Archbishop of Rheims and the bishops of Laon and Langres, as duke-bishops, and the count-bishops of Beauvais, Châlons, and Noyon. Philip the Fair made the duke of Brittany and the count of Artois peers, Normandy and Thoulouse having been united to the crown. Princes of the blood were afterwards so distinguished; and by the more modern kings, several nobles were raised to be dukes and peers.

valuable, and loosened that bond of mutual interest which had hitherto united the vassal with his lord⁶. A great change was also wrought by the abolition of villeinage, by the increase of trade, and by the rise of chartered towns ; whose privileges were mostly purchased from needy kings and nobles, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And the revolution was completed by wars of the Roses, which in England were so destructive to the old baronial families ; by the annexation, in France, of the great fiefs by the crown ; and by the union of several European states and monarchies, by marriage or inheritance, into powerful sovereignties.

The Feudal System preserved a sense of rights in a lawless age. It did not promote peace and good order ; yet it gave birth to a feeling of honour and of loyalty which raised society from the corruption into which it had sunk. For its spirit was opposed to falsehood, treachery, and ingratitude ; and though often hateful, it was never base.

SECTION III.

CLOVIS AND THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS OF FRANCE.

- A. D. 481. Clovis becomes king of the Salian Franks at Tournay.
- 486. *Clovis defeats Syagrius at Soissons.*
- 496. *Clovis defeats the Alemanni at Tolbiac. Baptism of Clovis.*
- 500. Gundebald, of Burgundy, becomes tributary to Clovis.
- 507. *Clovis defeats the Visigoths at Vouglé, or Poitiers.*
- 508. The Franks conquer most of Southern Gaul.
- 509. Clovis destroys most of the Frankish princes.
- 511. Death of Clovis.

⁶ The practice of escuage, and of hiring soldiers, became common in the twelfth century ; and in the middle of the fourteenth, Charles VII., of France, adopted the modern system of a standing army. Military tenures were abolished in England at the Restoration.

CLOVIS, the founder of the French monarchy, was not more than fifteen when, on the death of his father, he became king of Salian Franks at Tournay, A.D. 481. He allied himself with *Ragnacaire*, another petty Frankish prince who reigned at Cambray; and in the year 486, he began his career of victory at Soissons, by defeating *Syagrius*, the son of his father's rival count *Ægidius*, and the ruler of what remained of Roman Gaul⁷. Syagrius fled for aid to the Visigoths; but they gave him up to the pitiless Franks. Ten years afterwards, Clovis routed the Swabians, or Alemanni, at Tolbiac (Zülpich), near Cologne, their king being slain; conquered part of their country⁸; and by taking several thousands of their warriors into his service, greatly increased the strength of his army. This hard-fought battle was won with the help of the Ripuarian Franks of Cologne, whose king *Siegbert* was severely wounded.

Clovis, who had married the Burgundian princess Clotilda, and had been prevailed upon to allow her children to be christened; is said to have successfully invoked the God of his wife in the hour of danger, at Tolbiac, and to have been thus induced to listen to the teaching of *Remigius* (S. Remy), the archbishop of *Rheims*. On Christmas Day, he was baptized; and his example was followed by three thousand of his Salians. He was now

⁷ When Clovis divided the spoils at Soissons, he wished to give back a magnificent vase which had been taken from a church; on which a soldier struck the vase with his *francisca*, or battle-axe, crying out that the king should only have what fell to him by lot. A few months afterwards, Clovis cleft the man's skull, at a review, with his own *francisca*. This anecdote has been strained to prove that Clovis had but little power; whereas, when the barbarians united for conquest under a king, he soon became more than a mere chief.

⁸ See p. 172, note ⁵.—Perhaps his conquests did extend beyond the Rhine.

the only Catholic king on earth, all the other Christian sovereigns at that time being either Arians, or in some way tainted with heresy ; so that he had every where the good will of the orthodox clergy, and of the Roman and native population. The Armoricans agreed shortly afterwards to unite with the Franks, though an attempt to reduce them by force had failed⁹. His kingdom was thus extended to the shores of the Ocean : it was divided by the Loire from the Visigoths ; by the Rhone, from the Burgundians ; and by the Rhine from the independent Franks and Swabians.

The arms of Clovis were next turned against the Burgundians. They were beaten near Dijon, A.D. 500 ; but king Gundebald, who had lost the battle by the desertion of his false-hearted brother Godegisel, sheltered himself behind the walls of Avignon, and purchased peace by a promise of tribute. Nor were the Visigoths long unmolested. On the plains of Vouglé, about ten leagues from Poitiers, the Catholic Clovis overthrew the Arian Alaric II., July 507 ; and though the Franks and their Burgundian allies were kept out of Provence and Septimania by the power of the great Theodoric, almost the whole of Aquitaine was easily reduced¹.

Towards the close of his life, Clovis, in the true spirit of a conqueror, had all the independent Merovingian princes murdered, and seized upon their kingdoms. Among these were his old friends Siegbert and Ragnacaire : *Cloderic*, the son of the former, was fiendishly stirred up to slay his father, and his servants were then bribed to kill him. Such atrocities were too common among the barbarians to

⁹ Many Christian soldiers of barbarian origin, who had been in the Roman service, and were now dispersed in Gaul, also joined themselves to the army of the Franks.

¹ For the Visigothic War, see pp. 156, 157.

shock public opinion ; and moreover, Clovis and his successors were too liberal to the church for the Pope or the clergy to rebuke them very sharply for their sins². He died at Paris, Nov. 511, aged forty-five ; not long after he had received the title and ornaments of the consulship from the Eastern Emperor,—a high honour in the eyes of his Roman subjects.

Clovis was not so much the king of a nation, as the head of an army of about fifteen thousand men, by which the population of Gaul was vanquished and kept under. This force he could not disperse, much less disband, with safety ; but every spring, it exchanged its winter quarters for the camp, and was mustered at the Field of March, in readiness to quell any outbreak, and to face any enemy. And when the Frank soldier got his discharge, his services were rewarded by a grant of land³, and he became a settler. Soissons, and afterwards Paris, was the place chosen for the royal residence ; and in the chief towns, a *grafio*, or count, was also stationed. The Franks were only amenable to their own Salic and Ripuary customs ; the Gauls or Romans were still judged by the Theodosian code⁴, and had admission to civil offices, and to the king's

² Divorce, polygamy, and incestuous marriages, as well as treachery and cruelty, abound in the history of the successors of Clovis. Clothaire I., for example, had for his wives, *Gundioca*, the widow of his brother Clodimir ; St. Radegunda ; *Ingunda*, and her sister *Ari-gunda* ; *Chemsena* ; and the Lombard princess *Wultrada*, the widow of his grand-nephew Theodebald. This last marriage was found fault with by the clergy, and Wultrada, when she had borne two daughters, had one of the dukes of Bavaria given her for a third husband.

³ This was the *Salic* land which females were not allowed to inherit.

⁴ Ultimately, the barbarian customs prevailed over the Roman code in the northern provinces of France (*pays coutumiers*) ; but the Civil Law, in the southern provinces (*pays du droit écrit*).

favour. All the church dignities were also held, at first, by Romans. Yet the Roman had to pay the old land tax, from which his conquerors were exempt; he had no voice in the assemblies of freemen⁵; and if he was a layman, the fine for his murder was less than the *weregild* of a Frank.

The First Partition of the Frankish Kingdom.

A. D. 511. Thierry I., Clodomir, Childebart, and Clothaire I. divide the kingdom.

515. The Saxons unite themselves with the Franks.

524. Clodomir of Orleans slain at Visironce.

526. Murder of Clodomir's children by their uncles.

530. The Franks conquer the Thuringians.

531. Childebart of Paris pillages Narbonne.

534. Death of Munderic. Theodebert succeeds Thierry at Metz. Conquest of Burgundy by the Franks.

536. The Franks gain Rætia and Provence from the Ostrogoths.

539. Theodebert invades Italy.

543. Childebart and Clothaire I. attack Spain.

547. Theodebald succeeds Theodebert at Metz.

554. Death of Theodebald. Quarrel with the Saxons.

555. The Saxons defeat Clothaire I. and the Franks.

558. Rebellion of Chramne; Death of Childebart. Clothaire I. re-unites the Frankish empire.

560. Clothaire I. puts Chramne to death.

561. Death of Clothaire I.

The empire of Clovis was divided among his four sons, THIERRY I.⁶, CLodomir, CHILDEBART, and CLOTHAIRE I.; who reigned at Metz, Orleans, Paris⁷, and Soissons. And so far indeed was the power of the Franks from being

⁵ The Roman, unless he were a church dignitary, did not appear at the assembly at the Field of March; nor at the *placitum* or *mallum* (pleas or court) of the count, among the *Rachinburgii*, or freeholders.

⁶ Thierry (Dietrich or Theodoric), the eldest, was illegitimate; and, though born before his father's conversion, hardly twenty-five.

⁷ Paris was, however, still looked upon as the common capital.

shaken by his death, that it was soon extended beyond the Meuse to the banks of the Elbe, by the accession of the Saxons to their league; and likewise much increased by fresh conquests. The Thuringians and their king Hermanfred were subdued by Thierry and Clothaire, with the aid of the Saxons; the Visigoths in France were severely humbled by Childebert, when he avenged on Narbonne the insults which his sister *Clotilda* had suffered; the Burgundians, though they stoutly maintained their independence for a time, were vanquished by Childebert and Clothaire, and their territory partitioned between the victorious princes and Thierry, whose soldiers had also taken part in the war⁸; and the Ostrogoths, while struggling for existence against Belisarius, had to yield up Rhætia and Provence, which the protection of Theodoric had rescued from Clovis, when the Swabians were overthrown at Tolbiac and the Visigoths at Vouglé⁹.

During the wars with Burgundy,—about ten years before its fall,—Clodomir, king of Orleans, had been slain at Visironce, A.D. 524. His three sons were placed under the care of Clotilda, the widow of Clovis; but after a while, Childebert and Clothaire, their uncles, managed to get them into their clutches, and two of the helpless orphans were murdered, the third having been hidden from their fury¹. When Thierry died, A.D. 534, Childebert

⁸ Thierry himself, whose wife was the daughter of Sigismund of Burgundy, and the niece of Godemar, kept aloof from the contest. During the final struggle, he was engaged in pillaging Auvergne, which had tried to change his rule for that of Childebert; and in putting down *Munderic*, a Merovingian who had claimed to share the empire with the sons of Clovis.

⁹ These wars have already been described in the First Section of this Part.

¹ When Clothaire—now the husband of their mother Gundiocha—threw down the eldest of the boys and stabbed him; the younger brother clung to the knees of Childebert, and begged so piteously to be

and Clothaire would also have seized upon his dominions ; but they were deterred by the valour of his warlike son, who had begun his career by repelling the Northmen, and had lately distinguished himself in the south of France against the Visigoths. They themselves attacked the same people nine years afterwards, and overran and pillaged the north-eastern provinces of Spain, until they met with such a check that they had to purchase a disgraceful retreat.

THEODEBERT, who had succeeded his father Thierry in Austrasia, or the Eastern Kingdom², was one of the ablest of the Merovingian princes. His alliance was courted alike by the Greeks and the Ostrogoths, who were then contending for the mastery in Italy ; and both were treacherously made to pay highly for aid which was never given³. He crossed the Alps with a large army, A.D. 539 ; entered and burned Pavia, after having fallen upon and routed, first the Ostrogoths, and then the Greeks, with great slaughter ; laid waste the plains of Northern Italy, with famine and disease in his train ; and returned home laden with spoil, but with the loss of most of his soldiers. He is said to have once meditated an expedition against Justinian himself ; but he never lived to fulfil his design. He died, A.D. 547, leaving his throne to his youthful son

spared, that that ruffian was shaken in his purpose. But Clothaire reproached Chilbert with having instigated all that had been done, and bade him thrust away the child, if he would not die in his stead. —*Chlodwald*, who escaped the doom of his brothers, afterwards became a monk, and died in a convent, near Paris, which was named from him S. Cloud, A.D. 560.

² *Austrasia* included the country between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle ; *Neustria*, the North-Eastern Kingdom, extended from the Loire and the Meuse to the ocean. Besides these, were the more recent conquests of *Burgundy* and *Aquitaine*, and *Armorica*, or *Brittany*, which was tributary to the Franks.

³ Vitiges had a re-enforcement of 10,000 Burgundians, who distinguished themselves by their cruelty at the sack of Milan, A.D. 538.

THEODEBALD, a prince of weak health, during whose short reign, the Franks and Swabians (Alemanni), under independent chiefs, infested Liguria and Venetia, and supported the cause of the Ostrogoths. After the fall of Totila, a large host of these adventurers invaded Italy and perished, A.D. 553⁴.

In the year 554, Theodebald died, and his kingdom was seized by his great uncle Clothaire. The Saxons refused to acknowledge Clothaire; and a war ensued, in which the Franks, though successful at first, were beaten and had to sue for peace, A.D. 555. Chramne, his eldest son, now likewise rose against him; being instigated and upheld by his uncle Childebert, who was highly displeased at having been kept out of his share of Theodebald's dominions.

The death of Childebert, at Paris, A.D. 558,—he left no sons; and Clothaire entered his dominions, laid hold of his treasures, and drove his daughters and their mother into exile,—turned the scale against Chramne, whose father could now wield the whole strength of the Frankish empire, which he had reunited. The unhappy prince fled to *Conobre*, the count of *Lesser Brittany*, which was hitherto unconquered; but his ally was defeated and slain, and he himself was overtaken in his second flight, and brought into the camp of Clothaire. No mercy was shown him. Being fast bound to a bench, he was shut up, together with his wife and daughters, in a peasant's hut; and the place was set on fire, and all were horribly burnt alive, A.D. 560.

A year and a day after this foul deed of vengeance,

⁴ Two renowned Swabian brothers, the chieftains *Leutharis* and *Buccelinus*, re-entered Italy with 75,000 men (most of whom were heathen Swabians); and such were their ravages, that they themselves soon suffered from the want of wholesome food. The troops of Leutharis were swept away by dysentery, and those of Buccelinus were discomfited by Narses, A.D. 553.

Clothaire died of a fever at Compiègne, crying out, "How great is this King of heaven, who thus lays low the mighty kings of the earth⁵!"

The Second Partition of the Frankish Kingdom.

A. D. 561. Charibert, Guntram, Siegbert, and Chilperic I. divide the kingdom.

562. Siegbert repels the Avars ; Chilperic attacks him.

567. Death of Charibert. Siegbert attacks Guntram.

568. Galswintha murdered.

573. Siegbert attacks Chilperic.

575. Theodebert slain.—Siegbert murdered.

The kingdom of Clothaire I., like that of Clovis, was divided into four parts. CHARIBERT, his eldest son, who resided in Paris, had Aquitaine ; GUNTRAM (Gontran) got Orleans for his share, together with the kingdom of Burgundy ; SIEGBERT, at Metz⁶, ruled over Austrasia, where the Franks were most numerous, and his supremacy was acknowledged by the warlike German nations beyond the Rhine ; and to the youngest, CHILPERIC I., whose capital was Soissons, Neustria was allotted⁷. This prince, who

⁵ Clothaire had united under his rule the whole of Gaul (Septimania excepted) ;—Gaul then included France, Savoy, Switzerland, and the Low Countries ;—and the Franconians, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, not to speak of the Saxons, served him as subject allies. These Germans beyond the Rhine were unruly heathens, savage and poor ; but they sent forth swarms of hardy warriors.

⁶ Rheims had been the chief residence of his uncle Thierry of Austrasia.—Châlons on the Saône was now preferred as a capital to Orleans by Guntram.

⁷ The division, like the former one, was strangely made. Charibert's kingdom of Aquitaine was connected with Paris by a tongue of land which separated Guntram's dominions at Orleans from Burgundy. The truth is, that the Franks were still in a transition state, and had not settled down under a regular system of government. The kings had not the administration of justice or of finance to attend to,—even war cost little, as the barbarians fought without pay for the sake of the booty and conquered lands,—and their chief

was only half-brother to the rest, had seized his father's treasure, and had tried to make himself master of the whole inheritance.

The best of these kings was Guntram ; who, though far from stainless⁸, was not wanting in generosity, and was beloved by his Burgundian subjects. The worst for lust and cruelty was Chilperic, the Nero of France : he had hardly begun to reign when he had the baseness to invade the dominions of Siegbert, at the time that he was engaged in repelling the Avars, who had lately rushed into Europe⁹. When Siegbert had married the Visigothic princess *Brune-hilda* (Brunehaut), A. D. 566, Chilperic, whose concubines and repudiated wife *Audovera* were women of low rank, was induced to become the husband of her elder sister *Galswintha* ; yet though he loved his bride at first, his vile mistress *Fredegunda* (Frédégonde) so fully regained her influence, that the unhappy Spanish lady offered to give up all the wealth which she had brought him, if she were only allowed to return home. Behaving with heartless dissimulation, he gave her fair words ; but had her strangled in her bed, and raised Fredegunda to be his queen, A. D. 568. A short war with Siegbert now followed ; his indignation at the fate of his sister-in-law, being soon appeased by the cession of the towns which had been part of her dower : his wife was not so easily satisfied ; and for

business was the command of their armies. So loose at first was the allegiance of the Franks, that they would serve under whichever king they chose.

⁸ Guntram was a polygamist, and guilty of some cruel deeds.—At the request of one of his wives, who had died of the plague, he buried alive in her grave the two physicians who had attended her.

⁹ Siegbert forced the Avars to make peace, and had leisure to chastise his turbulent brother. Some years afterwards, A. D. 566, he was attacked by the Avars, and taken prisoner ; yet he was soon released by his foes, who now allied themselves with the Lombards against the Gepidæ, and ceased to molest the Franks.

many years, the fierce passions and the bitter, unrelenting hatreds of Brunhilda and Fredegunda were the curse of France.

Some months before this happened, Charibert—a king chiefly remarkable for his marriages, and his disputes with the clergy¹—had died, leaving daughters only; and Aquitaine had been shared among his three surviving brothers, in such ill-assorted portions that feuds and quarrels were constantly breaking out. Siegbert tried to deprive Guntram of Arles; and when that war was ended, his old grudge against Chilperic was envenomed worse than ever. Guntram, in the year 573, called a council of bishops to Paris, to reconcile the two brothers; but in vain. *Theodebert*, the eldest son of Chilperic, horribly ravaged the districts of Aquitaine, along the south of the Loire, which belonged to Siegbert; and the Austrasian king retaliated by leading an army of the heathen Germans from beyond the Rhine into the heart of Neustria, burning and destroying all before him. The chief lords on both sides insisted that peace should be made; but Siegbert had no sooner disbanded his troops, than Chilperic renewed the unnatural struggle by invading his frontier, and wasting the country as far as Rheims. He had cause to rue his rashness. The hell-hounds of Germany were again let loose upon Neustria, and Theodebert was killed by the Austrasians in Aquitaine; so that he was driven in despair to shut himself up with Fredegunda within the walls of Tournay,

¹ The year after his accession, A.D. 562, he supported *Emerius*, whom his father had named bishop of Saintes; and fined the metropolitan, *Leontius* of *Bordeaux*, and the other bishops who, at the council of Saintes, had deposed him. He was afterwards excommunicated by *St. Germain* of *Paris*, for marrying *Marcovefa*, a woman of low birth, who was not only the sister of a living wife, but likewise a nun.—His daughter *Bertha* married *Ethelbert* king of Kent, and introduced Christianity into Saxon England.

while Brunehilda, who had followed her husband in triumph to Paris, clamoured like a fury for vengeance¹. Even the Neustrian warriors abandoned his cause, and agreed to acknowledge Siegbert as king. But the iron soul of Fredegunda was unshaken. This fiendlike woman had a number of pages who would do and dare any thing at her bidding²: two of these were sent to assassinate Siegbert, and they stabbed him dead at Vitry, as he was getting off the shield on which the Neustrians had lifted him up in token that he was to be their sovereign, A.D. 575. The Neustrians instantly returned to their allegiance to Chilperic, who, as the Germans had already recrossed the Rhine, was able to march to Paris without meeting an enemy: the haughty Brunehilda fell into his hands, and was taken as a prisoner to Rouen.

A. D. 575. Childeburt king of Austrasia, Gogo Mayor of the Palace.

576. Mummolus routs the Lombards. Brunehilda marries Merovæus.

580. Fredegunda has Clovis and Andovera murdered.

581. Flight of Mummolus. League of Childeburt and Chilperic against Guntram.

583. Guntram defeats Chilperic at Melun.

584. Chilperic murdered.

CHILDEBERT, the son of Siegbert and Brunehilda, had, however, been secretly carried off from Paris by one of the Austrasian dukes; and had been proclaimed king, at Metz, on Christmas-day. As he was but five years old, the Leudes, or nobles, chose the prudent Gogo to be his

² St. Germain, the bishop of Paris, and even St. Radegunda from her retreat, fruitlessly endeavoured to touch the heart of Brunehilda with pity.

³ If they did her behests, their fortune was made; if they lost their lives, alms were distributed at the tombs of the saints to buy their salvation!

guardian, as Mayor of the Palace⁴; an office by which the royal authority was doomed to be supplanted. From henceforth, the power of the aristocracy became paramount in Austrasia.

Meanwhile *Merovæus*, the eldest living son of Chilperic, having gone to Rouen to see his captive mother Audovera, fell in love with Brunehilda and married her⁵. The lovers took refuge in St. Martin's Church against the rage of Chilperic, and would only come out on his plighting a solemn oath that they should not be parted; a promise which was quickly broken. Brunehilda, at the demand of the Austrasians, regained her freedom after a while; but *Merovæus* was forced to take priest's orders, and sent into a monastery, from which retreat he escaped to Tours, where he was courageously protected by the bishop and historian *St. Gregory*, A.D. 577⁶. From thence he fled, hoping to find a refuge in Burgundy; but after many adventures, he was betrayed by the people of Térouanes, and is said to have got one of his friends to kill him. His comrades were put to death with the most shocking barbarity by Fredegunda, who has also been accused of having him murdered.

A short time before, the Neustrians had been routed

⁴ *Major Domus*, originally a chief officer of the household, through whom petitions were laid before the king.

⁵ *St. Prætextatus* of Rouen, for abetting this marriage, was brought by Chilperic before a council of bishops at Paris, and banished to Jersey. After the death of Chilperic, when he had returned to his see, Fredegunda had him stabbed at mass in his cathedral, on Easter Sunday, A.D. 586.

⁶ In an age of violence, in which there was neither security nor justice, the right of sanctuary which churches possessed, was often highly beneficial. Chilperic pillaged the church lands of Tours; but dared not violate the sanctuary. His son, however, had reason to dread the unscrupulous Fredegunda, and was induced to seek a safer refuge.

with great slaughter in Aquitaine by *Mummolus*, the celebrated patrician of Burgundy; who had lately beaten the Lombards in their last attempts to conquer the south of France. The Burgundians returned home after their victory; and Chilperic's generals regained the ground which they had lost, and drove the Austrasians out of most of their possessions in Aquitaine. In the year 580, the two surviving sons of Fredegunda sickened of the plague; on which the conscience-stricken queen made her husband cancel the taxes which he had laid on the lands even of freemen, and which could not be raised without bloodshed. When the children died, she wreaked her fury on her stepson *Clovis*, whom she charged with having destroyed her family by witchcraft. The unhappy prince was assassinated in prison; his mistress and his mother Audovera died under the most frightful torture; and his sister, the maiden *Basina*, was given up to the lust of the queen's pages, and then immured in a nunnery⁷.

Mummolus, in the following year, fled from Burgundy, having fallen into disgrace with his sovereign. He was received with open arms by the nobles of Austrasia; who, with their young king Childebert, joined in a league with Chilperic and the Neustrians against Guntram, and ravaged some of his fairest provinces:—the war was ended, A.D. 583, by the defeat of Chilperic, near Melun, when left to fight Guntram single-handed, owing to a mutiny which had broken out in the camp of his Austrasian allies. Chilperic did not live much longer. He was killed by the dagger of an unknown murderer, as he was getting off his horse, at dusk, after hunting, A.D. 584⁸.

⁷ Two years after this, Fredegunda had a son named *Thierry*; and when he also died, A.D. 584, she had a number of persons tortured, burned alive, and broken on the wheel for witchcraft.

⁸ Brunehilda is thought to have had him murdered. Suspicion has also attached itself to Fredegunda, who is accused of an intrigue

- D. 584. Clothaire II. king of Soissons.
 585. Gundowald and Mummolus slain.
 593. Death of Guntram.
 596. Death of Childebert ; Theodebert king of Austrasia, and Thierry II. king of Burgundy.—Fredegunda recovers Paris (dies 597).
 599. Brunehilda exiled by the Austrasians.
 600. Theodebert and Thierry combine against Clothaire.
 605. Fall of Protadius.
 610. Thierry gives up Alsace to the Austrasians.
 612. Thierry defeats Theodebert at Toul and Tolbiac, and puts him to death.
 613. Thierry II. dies ; Siegbert II. Clothaire II. destroys Brunehilda and her grandchildren.
 622. Clothaire II. grants Austrasia to Dagobert.
 628. Death of Clothaire II.

CLOTHAIRE II., the only living son of Chilperic, was a helpless infant not more than four months old. His mother Fredegunda hastened to Paris, and sent to Guntram, beseeching him to take charge of the kingdom ; and the Burgundian king, on his arrival, became the guardian of her child, and her protector against the Austrasians. He was obliged, indeed, to retire to Rouen, in the beginning of the next year, Childebert—hitherto not old enough to rule for himself—and Guntram having become friends ; but the allegiance of the Neustrians was secured to Clothaire. This union of the two kings greatly overawed the nobles ; the adherents of *Gundowald* (a bastard son of Clothaire I., who had already seized Aquitaine) melted away, and their power was easily crushed⁹. When peace was restored at

by Duke Landeric.—Fredegunda's daughter *Riguntha*, who had been sent with a large dowry of ill-gotten wealth to marry the Goth Recared, was now stopped in Aquitaine, robbed of her treasures, and disappointed of her marriage.

Gundowald had been invited home from Constantinople, where he lived in exile. When besieged at last in Comminges, he was seduced to surrender himself to the Burgundians by Mummolus and others, who had thus hoped in vain to save their own lives.

home, Guntram and Childebert engaged in unsuccessful foreign wars; the former, against Recared and the Visigoths; the latter, against the Lombard Autharis.

When Guntram died, March 593, Childebert, whom he had once adopted after the death of his sons, united the kingdom of Burgundy with Austrasia and Aquitaine: he would even have wrested Neustria from his youthful cousin, had not his troops been beaten by *Landeric*, the Mayor of the Palace. Bearing a deep grudge against his nobles,—he had all the hate of Brunehilda in his nature,—he disgraced himself by a number of treacherous murders and horrible executions; and when he died, A.D. 596, at the age of twenty-five, it was believed that his end had been hastened by poison¹. His two sons—both of them born before he was seventeen—succeeded him; **THEODEBERT II.**, in Austrasia, and **THIERRY II.**, in Burgundy and Orleans.

All the Frankish thrones were now filled by children under the guardianship of Mayors of the Palace²:—*Landeric* governed Neustria; *Quintrio*, Austrasia; and *Warnachaire*, Burgundy. The royal authority was weakened, while the power of the aristocracy (especially of the dukes) dangerously increased; and, moreover, the troubles of the times were heightened by the restless ambition of the rival queens. Fredegunda, availing herself of the confusion which the death of Childebert had caused, attacked the Austrasians, and recovered Paris and the towns on the

¹ His queen had also died with him. The faction which he had crushed, Fredegunda, and even his mother Brunehilda, have each in turn been suspected of having plotted against his life.

² The Mayor of the Palace was first invested with full power in Austrasia, A.D. 575, after the death of Siegbert; in Neustria, A.D. 584, after the death of Chilperic; and in Burgundy (either A.D. 593, after the death of Guntram, or), A.D. 596, after the death of Childebert.

Seine which the Neustrians had lost: in the course of the next year, she died, hated indeed for her crimes, yet triumphant after all her reverses. Brunehilda had Quintrio murdered, and made her half-witted grandson Theodebert II. —then a boy of thirteen—marry the slave *Bilichilda*³; thus thinking to have every thing under her own management. But her haughty rule was not easily brooked by the nobles of Austrasia, with whom the young queen herself took part; and she was quickly driven out of the kingdom, A.D. 599, and had to betake herself to the court of her younger grandchild Thierry II., whose Burgundians were a less spirited race. She gained a complete mastery over the mind of that unhappy boy, by enticing him to give himself up to sloth and evil pleasures; she thwarted the attempts of his subjects to get him married; and she persecuted those among the clergy who tried to awaken his conscience⁴.

The Austrasians and Burgundians having leagued against the Neustrians, and routed them, A.D. 600; most of the towns which had welcomed Fredegunda were ruthlessly sacked, and a large portion of Neustria had to be ceded to the invaders⁵. Five years afterwards, Thierry was stirred up by his grandmother to attack the Austrasians: but the war was unpopular; the soldiers mutinied; and *Protadius*—the paramour of the aged Brunehilda, by whom

³ She was a person of much sense and spirit, and ruled her husband, until he fell in love with another woman and murdered her, A.D. 610.

⁴ When he had been induced to agree to marry the Visigothic princess *Ermenberga*, Brunehilda made him send her back, but kept her dowry.—*St. Desiderius* (Didier), bishop of *Vienne*, she caused to be stoned to death; and *Columbanus*, an Irish saint, she banished, for having exhorted the young king to amend his life.

⁵ Aquitaine was now divided between the Austrasians and Burgundians; whose dukes also humbled the Gascons, in 602.

he had been lately raised to be Mayor of the Palace⁶—was murdered in the young king's tent, for having dared to withstand the general wish for peace. A fresh feud, however, was provoked, when Thierry was intimidated into restoring Alsace to the Austrasians, A.D. 610. For a while he kept quiet, until he had gained over Clothaire II. by a promise of part of his lost territory; then, taking the field, March 612, he discomfited Theodebert II., at Toul and at Tolbiac (in which second battle, the Austrasians had been re-enforced by the nations beyond the Rhine). The vanquished king was pursued, overtaken, and bound with chains. Brunehilda showed him no mercy, and even bade a soldier lay hold of his little son *Mervæus*, and dash out his brains against a stone.

The next year, Thierry died of a flux, when about to march against Clothaire II., and deprive him of all that he had regained. Brunehilda sought to make SIEGBERT, the eldest of his four bastard sons, king in his stead: but she had to deal with the Austrasians, by whom she was feared and hated; and *Arnulf* and *Pepin of Landen*, two of the leading dukes, offered the crown to Clothaire, who forthwith came with an army to assert his claims. In the neighbourhood of Châlons on the Marne, the Neustrians won an easy victory, even the Burgundians having become disaffected⁷; after which, Brunehilda and three of her grandchildren were brought alive into the presence of the son of Fredegunda⁸, whose vengeance indeed was horrible.

⁶ Protadius, who was a brave but rapacious man, and his successor *Claudius*, were both of them Gauls.

⁷ Another *Warnachaire*, then Mayor of the Palace, who had found out that Brunehilda meant to have him murdered on suspicion, became a traitor. He now had his office secured to him for life.

⁸ Brunehilda had caused the death of his little son *Mervæus*, who had been taken prisoner when the Neustrians under Landeric had been defeated by the Burgundians, A.D. 604.

Siegbert and one of his brothers were slain at once ; but Brunehilda, after being reproached with the death of ten kings⁹, was tortured for three days, being also led about on a camel and exposed to the mockery of the whole army : she was then tied by the hair, by one arm, and one foot, to the tail of a wild horse, to be kicked and torn to death. Thus perished a woman, so hard-hearted and pitiless, that she was readily believed to have been guilty of crimes in which she had no share ; so commanding in her genius, and so magnificent in her architectural works, that her name still lived in the memory of the people, ages after her contemporaries had been forgotten¹.

Clothaire II. now reigned for some time alone ; but each kingdom had its Mayor of the Palace². It seems, however, to have been galling to the Austrasians to behold their country a province of Neustria ; so, in the year 622, he made his son *Dagobert*—a boy of fifteen—their king, giving him as guardians, Pepin of Landen and Arnulf : the former was Mayor of the Palace in Austrasia ; the latter became bishop of Metz³. Clothaire died, A.D. 628, in the forty-fifth year of his age, having been king of Neustria from his cradle.

⁹ Some of these Fredegunda had destroyed ; others, such as Thierry II., she was ridiculously accused of having poisoned.

¹ The age in which she lived was superstitious and bad. Yet it abounded in saints, the accounts of whose lives, such as they are, are often the only materials which we have for the history of the times. Of these lives, Mr. Hallam, with praiseworthy impartiality, observes, that “amidst all the mass of falsehood and superstition which incrusts them, they bear witness, not only to an intense piety, but to much of charity and mercy toward man.”

² When, however, Warnachaire died, A.D. 626, the Burgundian nobles declined to elect another mayor.

³ From these two men, the Carlovingian dynasty has sprung. Angesich, the son of St. Arnulf, married *Begga*, the daughter of Pepin of Landen ; and became the father of Pepin d'Héristal.

The Third Partition of the Frankish Kingdom.

A. D. 628. Dagobert I. and Charibert II.

630. Laws of Dagobert ; Aquitaine ceded to Charibert.

631. Death of Charibert.—Massacre of the Bulgarians. The war with Samo breaks out.

633. Dagobert assigns Austrasia to Siegbert III.

638. Death of Dagobert I.

DAGOBERT I. united Neustria and Burgundy to Austrasia ; but was forced to yield Aquitaine to his half-brother CHARIBERT II. In a short time, Charibert died, A. D. 631 ; his treasure was seized by Dagobert, and his infant son *Childeric* murdered ; and Aquitaine, which still remained a separate state, was reduced to the rank of a vassal duchy⁴.

The reign of Dagobert is remarkable for the publication

⁴ The first hereditary dukes of Thoulouse and Aquitaine, *Boggis* and *BERTRAND*, are said to have been the two youngest sons of *Charibert*. *Boggis* was succeeded, A. D. 688, by the celebrated *Eudes*, to whom the unworlly heir of *Bertrand*—*St. Hubert*, afterwards bishop of *Liege*—is believed to have resigned his father's territory. *Eudes* was styled king by his distressed sovereign *Chilperic II.*, A. D. 715 ; but his son *HUNOLD*, who became duke in the year 735, was obliged by *Charles Martel*, and afterwards by *Pepin le Bref*, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Franks. *Hunold* treacherously put out the eyes of his hostile brother, *Hatto*, count of *Poitou* ; and then gave up his duchy to his son *WAIFER*, and withdrew to a monastery in the isle of *Rhé*, A. D. 745. *Waifer* had a long struggle with *Pepin*, and was murdered at his instigation, June 768 ; on which *Hunold* emerged from his retreat, and rallied his late subjects around his standard. Vanquished by *Charlemagne*, and shut up in prison, A. D. 669, he afterwards escaped to the Lombards in Italy ; and at the siege of *Pavia*, A. D. 774, he was stoned to death by the populace for strongly opposing the surrender of the city.—*Hatto's* son *Lupus* was allowed to have the duchy of *Gascony*. It was forfeited by his descendants, in the year 819 ; and their last representatives, the viscounts of *Béarn*, became extinct in the male line, A. D. 1134.

of authentic codes of the Salic, Ripuary, Alemannic, and Bavarian laws ; and though, in his wars with the Wends, he was worsted by Samo, the weight of his power turned the scale in the disputed successions among his neighbours the Lombards and Visigoths. But he was a most sensual and rapacious prince :—even his magnificent foundation, the abbey of St. Denys, of which the shrines and sanctuary were adorned with the elaborate workmanship of *St. Eligius* (St. Eloy)⁵, was enriched by robbing other churches. He was also capable of the most cold-blooded treachery. About ten thousand Bulgarians and their families, who had sought shelter in his dominions when overcome by the Avars, were distributed by him among the villages of Bavaria ; and at the end of six months, he caused most of them to be massacred, in one night, by the people who had received them under their roofs, A.D. 631.

In the year 633,—about a twelvemonth before the birth of his son *Clovis*,—Dagobert gave the kingdom of Austrasia to his bastard child *Siegbert*, placing him under the care of *Angesich*, the son of St. Arnulf. He died, Jan. 638, being the last Merovingian king who really reigned. His successors were a thoroughly degenerate race, so enervated in mind and body as to be little better than idiots : they were under the management of the Mayors of the Palace, and are known as “*les Rois Fainéants*”—the do-nothing kings⁶.

⁵ The gifted goldsmith, who became bishop of Noyon and Tournay, shone alike as an artist, statesman, and divine.

⁶ Royal and noble families, being softened by habits of indulgence, seldom braced by hard work, and often intermarrying, have a tendency to fall away and become extinct. This degeneracy is, of course, more rapid among barbarians ; who, having few resources, either sink into sloth or wallow in vice. The later Merovingian kings were a puny, worn-out race, the children of children, fathers before they were fifteen, and old men before they were thirty ; and their long minorities contributed much to build up the power of the Mayors of the Palace.

The Fourth Partition of the Frankish Kingdom.—Les Rois Fainéants.

- A. D. 638. Siegbert III. and Clovis II., kings of Austrasia and Neustria.
639. Death of Pepin of Landen ; Grimoald succeeds him.
640. The Thuringians revolt. Death of *Æga* ; Erchinoald.
656. Siegbert III. dies ; fall of Grimoald.—Clovis II. dies⁷ ; Bathilda regent.
659. Death of Erchinoald ; Ebroin Mayor of Neustria.
660. Clothaire III. and Childeric II. made kings of Neustria and Austrasia.
664. Bathilda retires into a nunnery.
670. Thierry III. succeeds to Neustria. Thierry and Ebroin are overpowered by Childeric II. and St. Leger.
673. St. Leger disgraced.—Childeric murdered ; Thierry III. restored.—Ebroin sets up a pretender.
674. Dagobert II., Siegbert's son, recovers Austrasia.—Murder of Leudesius ; St. Leger blinded.
675. Ebroin re-instated.
678. St. Leger put to death.—Dagobert II. murdered.
680. Ebroin defeats the Austrasians at Loix. Duke Martin is slain.
681. Ebroin murdered.
687. *Pepin d'Héristal gains the battle of Testry.*

SIEGBERT III. (St. Siegbert) and CLOVIS II., the kings of Austrasia and Neustria⁸, being mere children, were at first under the guardianship of Pepin of Landen and *Æga*. The deaths of the two great rival Mayors left an opening for the ambition of the nobles ; so that France, owing to long minorities and the fierce struggles of the chiefs for the mayoralty, was cursed with the ills which flow from the opposite systems of hereditary and elective rule.

When Siegbert died⁹, his little child *Dagobert* was

⁷ This chronology is very uncertain. Sismondi places the death of Siegbert III. in 650 ; and that of Clovis II., in 654.

⁸ With Neustria, the kingdom of Burgundy was henceforth united.

⁹ This young prince, being devout, and liberal to the Church, was

shaven and sent away into an Irish monastery by Pepin's son *Grimoald*; who, having established his power as Mayor of Austrasia, wanted to seize the sceptre for his own family. Grimoald produced a forged will, in which the late king was said to have adopted his son *Childebert*; and the new sovereign was accordingly proclaimed. But the time was not ripe for such a change. The indignant Austrasians took the usurpers, and handed them over to the vengeance of Clovis II., whose Mayor *Erchinoald*, the successor of *Æga*, had now the government of the three Frankish kingdoms.

Clovis II. likewise died young, A.D. 654, leaving three sons to the care of his widow *St. Bathilda*¹. These princes all of them bore the title of king; but it was not until the year 660,—not long after the famous *Ebroin* had been chosen to succeed Erchinoald,—that any dominions were assigned to them: *CLOTHAIRE III.*, the eldest, had Neustria; and his next brother, *CHILDERIC II.*, was sent into Austrasia, which had also a Mayor of its own to rule over it. At the end of ten years, Clothaire died childless, and *THIERRY III.*, the youngest of the three, was placed on the throne by Ebroin, who hitherto seems to have upheld the royal authority against the aristocracy². But *Leodegarius* (St. Leger), the bishop of

canonized. His reign is remarkable for the revolt of the Thuringians; who defeated the Austrasians, in the year 640, and became virtually independent.

¹ Bathilda was an Anglo-Saxon slave before she was queen, and used to redeem numbers of her countrymen from bondage. In the year 664, she retired into a nunnery, where she ended her life, A.D. 680.

² After the fall of Brunehilda, nothing could be done without the consent of the nobles.—Under the feeble rule of the later kings, a new order of petty tyrants arose under the title of seigneurs (*seniores*, perhaps *senatorii*) or lords, and the Forest and Game Laws became highly oppressive.

Autun, enraged that Ebroin should take upon himself to make a king, stirred up the nobles of Neustria and Burgundy to give their allegiance to Childeric of Austrasia: Ebroin, surprised and without resources, was quickly overpowered and dragged into a monastery at Luxeuil, while Thierry was immured in that of St. Denys. For a season, the triumphant St. Leger was Mayor in all but in name; until he displeased his new sovereign, and was shut up in Luxeuil to do penance with his former rival, A.D. 673.

Hardly was this prelate disgraced, when the wanton and profligate Childeric had flogged a free-born Neustrian lord, and his nobles were plotting his destruction. A party of them, healed by *Gaërin*, the brother of St. Leger (whom they managed to consult in his retreat), fell upon him as he was hunting; slew him, together with his pregnant wife and one of his children; and then brought Thierry III. out of the cloisters of St. Denys, and re-established him in the kingdom of which they and their friends had deprived him. Ebroin and St. Leger recovered their freedom, and, though they had been solemnly reconciled, were again deadly foes.

In the year 674, Austrasia had once more a king of its own, DAGOBERT II.³—that child of St. Siegbert which Grimoald had exiled—having been restored. With his aid, Ebroin raised an army; and having given out that he was asserting the rights of a certain *Clovis*, whom he pretended to be the son of Clothaire III., he acted with such vigour⁴, that he came like lightning upon his enemies.

³ *St. Wilfred*, archbishop of York, had invited him over from Ireland, and given him a home; and had also exerted himself to get him restored.

⁴ Ebroin consulted his friend *St. Ouen*, the bishop of *Rouen*, who, instead of answering his questions, bade him bear Fredegunda in mind. The lesson was not forgotten.

King Thierry narrowly escaped with the loss of all his treasures ; *Leudesius*, the son of Erchinoald and Mayor of the Palace,—who had shared his flight,—entered the hostile camp to negotiate, and in violation of plighted oaths was slain in cold blood ; and at Autun, St. Leger was given up by his flock to the victorious faction, and his eyes were torn out of his head. Happily for the insignificant Thierry, it was thought worth while to make use of him : so the false Clovis was sacrificed, and Ebroin was reinstated by his sovereign as Mayor of Neustria and Burgundy. His rule was a tyranny : he proclaimed an amnesty ; but it was appealed to in vain. Among his victims were Gaérin, who was stoned to death for the murder of Childeric II. ; and St. Leger, who after being mutilated and tortured, was at last degraded by a council of bishops, and delivered up to the sword of the executioner.

The opponents of Ebroin were harboured in Austrasia by the dukes *Martin* and *Pepin d'Héristal*, St. Arnulf's grandsons⁵, who had lately become masters of that kingdom. For Dagobert II., as might be expected from a raw youth just freed from the irksome trammels of a monastic life, had turned out to be an abandoned profligate, and had lately been deposed and murdered, A. D. 678. In the year 680, the two dukes were induced by the exiles to invade Neustria, and were defeated at the bloody battle of Loixi : Martin took refuge within the walls of Laon, whence he was lured out by the wiles of Ebroin and slain⁶ ; Pepin

⁵ St. Arnulf had two sons, *St. Chlodulf*, who was also bishop of *Metz*, and *Angesich* : the former was the father of Martin ; the latter, of Pepin d'Héristal.—The elder and younger Pepin owe their modern surnames to the castles of Landen and Héristal, which belonged to them.

⁶ Ebroin sent two bishops, *Reolus* of *Rheims* and *Ægilbert* of *Paris* (both of them saints of the Romish Church), to invite Martin to a

found safety in flight. Ebroin overran Austrasia ; but in the following year, he was killed, one Sunday morning, while on his way to church, by *Ermanfred*, a nobleman who had been guilty of peculation and dreaded his vengeance.

After the fall of this great man, Pepin d'Héristal's fortunes revived, and he made an ill-kept peace with the Neustrians. At length, when the vain and insignificant *Berthaire* had become Mayor of the Palace, he was encouraged by the rapid increase of discontent among them, to invade their country again, as the champion of the exiles ; and in the autumn of 687, on the hard-fought field of Testry, he won the victory which established the power of a new dynasty over France. Berthaire escaped from the slaughter, to be slain by some of his own followers : the helpless Thierry fled to Paris, and there awaited the coming of the conqueror. Pepin allowed the Merovingian prince to keep his empty titles, and even to call himself king of Austrasia ; but he seized upon the office of Mayor, and from henceforth the independence of Neustria was at an end.

SECTION IV.

RULE OF PEPIN D'HERISTAL AND THE DUKES OF AUSTRASIA.

A. D. 689. Pepin d'Héristal attacks the Frisians.
691. Clovis III.

conference, pledging themselves to his safety on oath. As they knew perfectly well that he never would return alive, they cunningly abstracted the relics from the reliquaries on which they had to lay their hands when they were sworn, and then perjured themselves without scruple !

A. D. 695. Childebert III. Radbod and the Frisians defeated.

708. Death of Drogo, Pepin's eldest son.

709. Pepin attacks the Alemanni.

711. Dagobert III.

714. Murder of Pepin's son Grimoald ; Pepin dies.

PEPIN D'HÉRISTAL, the inheritor of the domains of St. Arnulf and Pepin of Landen, styled himself duke of Austrasia ; which being nearer to the mother country of the Franks, was far more German than Neustria, where the dominant race were comparatively few and scattered⁷. Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, were now almost independent ; and the nations beyond the Rhine claimed rather to be allies than vassals.

In the year 691, Thierry III. died, and his child, CLOVIS III., was named king in his stead. The short-lived Clovis was succeeded, A.D. 695, by his brother CHILDEBERT III. ; on whose death, April 711, the boy DAGOBERT III., his heir, was placed on a throne which he only filled for a brief space. These two last kings were given to the charge of the mild *Grimoald*, Pepin's second son⁸, whom he created Mayor of Neustria.

Pepin, anxious to keep the tribes of Germany under his sway, had wars with the Frisians, whose duke *Radbod* he twice defeated⁹ ; and with the Swabians, or Alemanni, whose country he repeatedly ravaged. When his health was breaking down, April 714, he sent for Grimoald ; who

⁷ The victory of the Austrasians over the Neustrians was the triumph of the language, manners, and arms of Germany over Romanized institutions. In fact, the Austrasian Franks, under Pepin and his successors, may be said to have conquered Gaul a second time.

⁸ The eldest son was *Drogo*, duke of *Champagne* ; who was married to *Austrude*, widow of Berthaire, and died, A.D. 708, leaving two obscure sons, *Hugh* and *Arnulf*.

⁹ He also encouraged *St. Willibrod*, the first bishop of *Utrecht*, to preach the Gospel to the Frisians, of whom he has been called the Apostle.

stopped on his way at the neighbouring town of *Liege* to worship at the shrine of *St. Lambert*, and was assassinated,—a crime which his sick father had still strength enough to punish. *Pepin d'Héristal* lived till December, and bequeathed his authority to *Theodoald*, the bastard of the murdered *Grimoald*—a boy hardly six years old. The valiant son of *Pepin's* second wife *Alpaide*, *CHARLES MARTEL*¹, was left in the power of the regent *Plectrude*, the first and lawful wife : he was then in prison at *Cologne*, which had become the capital of *Austrasia* instead of *Metz*.

A. D. 715. The Neustrians rise against *Theodoald* and *Plectrude*.

Elevation of *Charles Martel*.—*Chilperic II*.

717. Battle of *Vincy*.—*Charles* makes *Clothaire IV*. king.

718—739. Wars of *Charles Martel* with the Saxons.

719. *Charles* defeats *Raginfred* and *Eudes*. *Clothaire IV*. dies.

720. *Eudes* surrenders *Chilperic*. *Thierry IV*.

725—728. Wars with the *Bavarians*.

732. *Defeat of the Saracens at Tours*.

733. *Burgundy* humbled. *Poppo* slain ; the *Frisians* routed.

735. Death of *Eudes* ; *Aquitaine* invaded.

737. *Thierry IV*. dies. Battle on the *Berre* ; Siege of *Narbonne*.

739. The *Saracens* driven out of *Provence*.

741. Death of *Charles Martel*.

This singular government—a child the guardian of an older boy, his sovereign, and both of them tied to a woman's apron-strings—was borne with in *Austrasia* : but the *Neustrians* rose in arms ; routed the forces of *Plectrude*, as she was advancing with her grandchild towards

¹ So named from his prowess. It would almost seem that he was suspected of having been in some way concerned in the death of *Grimoald*.—*St. Lambert*, the bishop of *Maestricht* had been murdered at *Liege* by the kindred of *Alpaide*, because he had openly espoused the cause of *Plectrude*, *Grimoald's* mother, and rebuked *Pepin d'Héristal* for his bigamy. The clergy, as they became more powerful, had increased in boldness.

Paris; chose *Raginfred* for their Mayor; and leagued themselves with Radbod and the Frisians against the discomfited Austrasians. Raginfred drew a middle-aged monk, named *Daniel*, from his cell, and proclaimed him as CHILPERIC II.²

But though the Austrasians were assailed on every side by the Neustrians, the Frisians, and the Saxons, they steadily rallied under Charles Martel; who, in the midst of the late troubles, had been rescued from his prison. Though unsuccessful at first, having been signally beaten by Radbod, he gradually retrieved his losses; and he was solemnly inaugurated as duke of Austrasia, at Cologne³, when he had routed Raginfred and the Neustrians in a long, fierce, and bloody fight at Vincy, March 717. A person of very doubtful claims to Merovingian descent, was set up by him as an opposition king to Chilperic, under the title of CLOTHAIRE IV.: he died, in the year 719, just after Raginfred and Eudes, duke of Aquitaine,—an ally whom the former had gained by an offer of royal rank,—had been discomfited by Charles near Soissons. Eudes now purchased peace by surrendering Chilperic and his treasures; Raginfred struggled on for a while, but was forced to give up the mayoralty of Neustria; and Chilperic was so far fortunate, that his Austrasian conquerors agreed to acknowledge him as their nominal sovereign. He did not live another twelvemonth. A son of Dagobert II., THIERRY IV., succeeded him, A.D. 720; on whose death, in 737⁴, it was not thought worth while to make any more kings.

² He was said to be the son of Chilperic II.

³ Even Plectrude—Theodoald was dead—had to give up to him the towns and the treasure which she still held.

⁴ In the twenty-third year of his age.—So worn-out and enfeebled by sloth and vice was the Merovingian race, that the early deaths of the later princes caused neither surprise nor suspicion.

Charles Martel had begun, as early as the year 718, to repress the Saxons ; whose country he invaded six times. He reduced the Swabians ; humbled the Bavarians ; and overpowered the Frisians, whose duke *Poppo* was slain in battle, and their temples set on fire⁵. He once overran Burgundy ; and he likewise compelled *Hunold*, the successor of Eudes in Aquitaine, to acknowledge his superiority. And, above all, he had the glory of driving back the Saracens, at the memorable battle between Tours and Poitiers, Oct. 732⁶, having come to the aid of his old enemy Eudes, whose power had been shattered by the infidels. Five years afterwards, he won a fresh victory at the Berre, but failed in the siege of Narbonne⁷ : at length, A.D. 739, he took Marseilles, and drove the Moslems out of most of the towns of Provence. He died, Oct. 741, being hardly more than fifty.

A.D. 741. Carloman and Pepin dukes of the Franks. Grifo imprisoned.

742. Aquitaine and Swabia ravaged.—Childeric III.

743. Odilo and the Bavarians routed. Ecclesiastical Reforms.

745, 746. Submission of Aquitaine and Swabia.

747. Carloman becomes a monk.

748. Flight of Grifo ; Saxon War.

749. The Bavarians make peace with Pepin.

752. Childeric III., king of Neustria, deposed.

Charles Martel bequeathed his power to his two eldest

⁵ The Anglo-Saxon *Winfred*, born at Crediton, and better known as *St. Boniface*, "the Apostle of Germany," had begun to preach to the Frisians and Hessians in 717. He became a bishop in 723 ; was established as archbishop of Mentz in 745 ; and was martyred June 754.

⁶ The carnage of that day has been exaggerated, and the beaten Saracens were allowed to retreat unpursued ; but the moral effect of the victory was immense.

⁷ Narbonne and Septimania had been conquered from the Visigoths by the Saracens under *Zama*, A.D. 719.

sons : CARLOMAN inherited Austrasia, Swabia, and Thuringia ; PEPIN *the Short* (le Bref), had Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence. A few counties were left to *Grifo*, the child of a second marriage⁸ ; but his half-brothers seized upon his share, and put him in prison.

Pepin and Carloman had to uphold their supremacy over the vassal nations with a strong hand. The former indeed thought it politic to give his Neustrians and Burgundians a Merovingian king, and a youth was brought out of a cloister, who bore the empty title of CHILDERIC III.⁹ ; but the rule of Carloman in Austrasia needed no such disguise. These warlike brothers, both singly and with combined forces, humbled the dukes of Aquitaine and Swabia, as well as *Odilo* of *Bavaria* and his Saxon allies ; and they likewise supported *St. Boniface* in his endeavours to convert the heathen and to reform abuses in the Church¹. But in the year 747, Carloman, when the tide of fortune was at its flood, renounced his worldly kingdom to become a monk in Italy ; and the claims of his children were set aside by Pepin, who lost no time in getting himself chosen to be duke of Austrasia.

The following spring, *Grifo*, whom Pepin had just restored to freedom, fled with a troop of discontented young nobles across the Rhine, and stirred up the Saxons to revolt. These, however, though joined by the Frisians and

⁸ Like Charles Martel himself, *Grifo* (or *Grippe*) has been unjustly termed illegitimate. His mother *Sonichilda*, a Bavarian princess, fled with him to Laon, where they were forced to surrender. Charles Martel's daughter *Chiltrude*, who had sided with them, escaped into Bavaria, where she married duke *Odilo*.

⁹ Some say that he was a son of *Chilperic II.* ; others, of *Thierry IV.*

¹ In Teutonic France under Carloman, a council was held at *Lep- tines*, in *Hainault*, March 743 ; and in Neustria, where Pepin ruled, at *Soissons*, March 744.

Wends, were unable to stand their ground against Pepin, who ravaged their country ; and Grifo betook himself to his sister *Chiltrude*, whose husband Odilo, duke of Bavaria, had lately died, and was elected guardian of her son Tassilo II. The Bavarians found allies in the disaffected Swabians ; yet when Pepin approached, they at once abandoned the plains between the Lech and the Inn, and began to negotiate : Grifo had to return home, where he did not long remain quiet².

Pepin, perhaps from policy, wished to have the show as well as the substance of royalty. He therefore sent to Rome to inquire, whether a prince incapable of governing might not be dethroned ; and pope *Zachary*, who was much in want of a protector against the Lombards, gladly returned for answer, that he who had the power, ought also to bear the title of king. The assembly of the Franks was now held at Soissons, March 752 : Pepin was raised to the throne, and was solemnly anointed some days afterwards by St. Boniface³ ; and Childeric III. was shorn of his long hair, and doomed to end his life in a monastery⁴. Thus were the poor remains of the Merovingians swept away, and the Carolingian family set up to reign in their stead.

² He was pardoned, kindly treated, and had the town of Mans and twelve counties as an apanage. In the year 751, he fled to Waifer, duke of Aquitaine ; whom he left to go to Astulf, the Lombard king, and was surprised and slain on his way by some of Pepin's vassals, A.D. 753.

³ By obtaining for his crown the sanction of the Church, Pepin hoped to conciliate his Neustrian subjects.

⁴ His son *Thierry* also died in a cloister.

SECTION V.

THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF
PEPIN THE SHORT TO THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES
THE FAT.

A. D. 752. *Pepin the Short, king of France.*

753. The Saxon war.

754. Pope Stephen crowns Pepin ; Pepin attacks Astulf.

756. Pepin again invades Lombardy.

759. Narbonne taken ; Septimania conquered from the Saracens.

760. The war with Aquitaine begins.

768. Conquest of Aquitaine. Pepin dies.

PEPIN had not enjoyed his new dignity a twelvemonth, before he had to quell a fresh outbreak of the Saxons. He crossed the Rhine ; burned their villages and their crops ; carried away thousands of captives ; and raised the amount of their tribute, A.D. 753.

At the close of the same year, pope Stephen⁵—Zachary was now dead—entered France, and in sackcloth and ashes threw himself at the feet of Pepin, who alone could shield him against the Lombards. He was received with enthusiastic deference ; and when the winter was over, the assembled Franks agreed with one voice to take up arms in his behalf, although no less a person than Carloman himself had been sent from his retreat at Monte Cassino to plead for

⁵ Rome, since the revolt against Leo (A.D. 730), had become a republic, in which the influence of its bishop was paramount, though it professed to be still subject to the Greek emperor. When therefore Astulf had taken Ravenna, and had begun to threaten Rome, the Pope implored the aid of Constantine Copronymus ; who sent over envoys, but no army. The negotiations with Astulf were unsuccessful : he proffered peace, but would restore nothing. Pope Stephen III.—who is more correctly called Stephen II., his predecessor Stephen having died unconsecrated—then left Pavia in despair, and hastened to seek the help of the Franks.

king Astulf⁶. The Pope rewarded Pepin with the title of Patrician, thus trenching upon the rights of the Greek emperor : he also crowned and anointed him and his two sons, July 754 ; and he forbade the Franks, on pain of excommunication, to choose a king from any other family. Pepin and his warriors forthwith set out on their march to Italy. The passes of the Alps were forced ; and Astulf, shut up in Pavia, accepted the Pope's mediation, and pledged himself to yield up all that was required.

But when the Franks were gone, Astulf did not keep his word : early the next year, he laid siege to Rome. Pepin again rushed down to the Pope's rescue ; on which Astulf hastened to the passes, was beaten, and had to seek shelter once more within the walls of Pavia. To save himself from utter ruin, the Lombard king gave up the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Duchy of Rome (Romagna and the March of Ancona) ; which, in spite of the protest of the Greek envoys, were granted to the Holy See, A.D. 756. From henceforth, the popes no longer dated their epistles and bulls by the years of the reign of the Eastern emperors.

The troubles which had broken out among the Saracens after the fall of the Ommiades, had encouraged the Visigoths in Septimania to throw off their yoke ; and Pepin had offered his aid to the insurgents, who gladly placed themselves under his rule. For seven years, the infidels still held out in Narbonne ; but they were now driven out of France, the Christians in the beleaguered city having risen against their masters, and opened the gates to the Franks, A.D. 759. Pepin's last achievement was the conquest of Aquitaine ; which, after a tedious war of pillage and devastation, and the assassination of duke *Waifer*, was

⁶ Pepin, anticipating this visit, made *Drogo* and Carloman's other children take the vows. Carloman himself was not allowed to return to Italy : he died at Vienne that same year (A.D. 754).

reunited to the Frankish empire, June 768. He died of a dropsy in the following September, having previously divided his dominions between his two sons, CHARLES (Karl the Great, or Charlemagne) and CARLOMAN⁷.

The Conquests and Empire of Charlemagne.

A. D. 768. Charlemagne and Carloman.

769. The revolt of Aquitaine put down.

771. Desiderata divorced. Death of Carloman.

772. The Saxon wars begin.

773. Charlemagne attacks Desiderius.

774. Pavia and Verona taken. *Fall of the Lombard Kingdom.*

778. The Spanish March conquered; Battle of Roncevalles.

779. Defeat of the Saxons at Buckholz.

781. Pepin and Lewis crowned kings of Italy and Aquitaine.

782. Butchery of the Saxons at Verden.

785. Submission of Wittikind.

788. Tassilo duke of Bavaria deposed.

789. Charlemagne subdues the Wilzes.

792. Conspiracy of Pepin le Bossu.

793. The Saxon wars renewed.

794. Council of Frankfurt.

796. Pepin subdues the Avars.

799. Charlemagne restores Pope Leo III.

CHARLEMAGNE, when he had to put down a revolt in Aquitaine, found himself deserted by his brother. But the quarrel between the princes was made up by their mother *Bertha*⁸; and all danger of a civil war was subsequently removed by the death of Carloman, Dec. 771. This young king had left two sons, *Pepin* and *Syagrius*; but the claims of these helpless children were set aside, and Charlemagne became sole ruler of the Franks.

The first great undertaking of the new monarch, when

⁷ Carloman had for his share most of Austrasia and the eastern provinces. He was not more than seventeen, being about nine years younger than Charlemagne.

⁸ Or *Bertrada*. She was called the big-footed.

his power was established, was the war against the Saxons¹, whose hardy tribes he resolved to vanquish and to civilize. He carried fire and sword into their country; took one of their chief strongholds; overthrew their national idol, the Irminsul², at Merseburg; and forced them to give him hostages. A quarrel with the Lombards had induced him to return home, to strengthen himself for a struggle with a fresh foe.

It so happened that Charlemagne—in spite of the remonstrances of *Stephen (IV. or) III.*, who was then Pope—had put away his first wife, to marry *Desiderata*, the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius; and that the very next year (A.D. 771), Desiderata, in her turn, had been divorced for the sake of the Swabian *Hildegarda*. The offended father thus readily became the champion of the widow of Carloman, when she fled to his court; and called upon Pope *Adrian I.* to crown her sons. Adrian refused, deeming Charlemagne to be his best protector³; on which Desiderius ravaged his dominions, and threatened Rome with a siege.

The Pope implored the help of Charlemagne; who forth-

¹ The Saxon wars were partly defensive. Ancient antipathy of race, and the hatred which the savage bears to the encroachments of civilization, made peace impossible. Fixed boundaries of land, and the habits of settled life, are unbearable restraints to men accustomed, like the Saxons, to shift their abodes in the wide range of field and forest comprised within their *gau*, or district; and Christianity was looked upon with aversion as the faith of the enemy. Hence the cause of the present outbreak. A missionary, *St. Lioba*, had denounced on them the vengeance of Heaven and Charlemagne; and they had driven him out of their country, and had burned the church of Dauter, butchering several of the Christian worshippers.

² Hermann-Säule, the (pillar or) statue of the warrior, or god of

³ The Pope was also the old grudge. The Pope and the Lombards were in their interpretation of Pepin's loosely-worded treaty.

with marched down into Italy, and drove Desiderius and his son *Adelgisus* into Pavia and Verona, both of which places were immediately invested by the Franks, Oct. 773. During these sieges, which were long and obstinate, Charles visited Rome, making his entry on Easter-eve: he was received with all the honours of a Patrician, or Exarch, and he solemnly confirmed all his father's grants. At the end of May, Pavia and Verona surrendered. *Adelgisus* had escaped to Constantinople³; but Desiderius and his family were led captives into France, and the kingdom of the Lombards was destroyed for ever, A.D. 774⁴. *Carlo-man's* children, who were at Verona, fell likewise into the hands of their uncle: their fate is unknown.

The conquered Lombards were allowed to live under their own laws, and under their own dukes; of whom those of Spoleto, Friuli, and Benevento were more like independent princes than subjects⁵. A rising having been attempted in favour of the absent *Adelgisus*, Charlemagne returned two years afterwards; took the duke of *Friuli* prisoner; put him to death, and gave the duchy to one of his Frankish captains. In the kingdom of Lombardy itself, as a check upon the native dukes, the counts and marquises⁶ were removed, and the commands of the more important towns and of the Marches were entrusted to Franks.

In the year 778, Charlemagne likewise entered Spain, at the instigation of the banished governor of Saragossa, and

³ The Greeks, when they quarrelled with Charlemagne, made *Adelgisus* Patrician of Sicily and Calabria; but he was attacked and slain by the Lombard dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, A.D. 788.

⁴ Charlemagne is said to have been crowned with the famous "Iron Crown" of Lombardy; but this is somewhat doubtful.

⁵ The duke of *Benevento* was forced to own the superiority of Charlemagne, so late as the year 787; but his successors soon threw off the yoke.

⁶ The *count* was the governor of a city and the territory attached to it; the *marquis* had the command of a March or Frontier.

conquered from the Saracens the whole of the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. This was formed into the Spanish March⁷. The neighbouring Christian princes in the mountain districts, looked upon the inroad with jealousy; and as he was returning through the pass of Roncesvalles, his rearguard was cut off, and his baggage plundered, by an ambuscade of the Gascons and Navarrese. His nephew *Roland* (Rutland), the hero of the old romance writers, was among the slain.

Yet though he might have easily extended his conquests over civilized Europe, the genius of Charlemagne led him to follow out his more arduous mission of warring against the Barbarians⁸. Whenever he withdrew his armies, the vanquished Saxons would break out afresh, again to be overwhelmed and crushed. After a great victory at Buckholz, in the fourth of these sanguinary campaigns, A.D. 779, he carried on his ravages to their farthest borders, and terrified tribe after tribe into an unwilling profession of Christianity: eight bishoprics were founded by him, and a number of abbeys endowed for the diffusion of the new faith. Owing to the influence of the indefatigable *Wittikind*, who had sought shelter for a while in Scandinavia, the feeling against the Franks was kept alive; and the cruelty

⁷ The Spanish March, which was often fluctuating, was erected by Charles the Bald into the county of Barcelona, A.D. 864. Count Raymond Berenger IV., having married the heiress of Arragon, A.D. 1137, it became merged into that kingdom; yet so late as 1180, legal instruments in Catalonia were dated by the year of the king of France, whose rights were finally ceded by Lewis IX., A.D. 1258.

⁸ At the time when the Carovingian family became considerable, Christianity seemed about to be swept away from the earth; owing to the conquests of the Saracens on the one side, and the pressure of warlike Pagan races on the other, while the whole of Christendom was a melancholy scene of dissension and misgovernment. The victory of Charles Martel, on the plains of Tours, turned back the tide of Arab conquest. The wars of his grandson saved Europe from the heathen.

with which Charlemagne had 4500 disaffected Saxons beheaded at Verden on the Aller, A.D. 782⁹, gave rise to another general war, which lasted three years. The Saxons were defeated, in the very outset, at Detmold and on the Hase; and at its close, they were brought so low, that even Wittikind and his brother *Abbio* agreed to lay down their arms and be baptized¹. Wittikind remained faithful to his new master, by whom he was honourably treated; but his countrymen, after eight years of peace, broke out again when Charlemagne was busily engaged elsewhere. Having overpowered his treacherous kinsman Tassilo II. of Bavaria, and deprived him of his duchy at Ingelheim, May 788; he had advanced his frontier to the Oder by subduing the Wilzes (who had attacked the Obotrites, his subject allies), and he had been involved in a struggle with the Avars of Pannonia. Against these last, he had his wonted success. He once dreadfully ravaged their territory (A.D. 791); and in the year 796, he sent his son *Pepin*, king of Italy², with *Henry*, duke of *Friuli*, to reduce it: their conquests reached perhaps from the Ems to the Raab, and became the Avaric March.

Charlemagne was not only a warrior but a legislator,

⁹ At a time when the Sorbes had invaded Thuringia, the Saxons who had been summoned to repel them turned against the lieutenants of Charlemagne and destroyed them.

¹ The next year, A.D. 786, the Thuringians, who had been somewhat restless, and the people of Brittany acknowledged the supremacy of Charlemagne.

² In the year 781, Pepin had been made king of Italy; and his brother Lewis, king of Aquitaine: this was done to conciliate the inhabitants of these newly-conquered countries.—Pepin is not to be confounded with his half-brother, the bastard *Pepin le Bossu* (Hunchback), who was obliged to become a monk, A.D. 792, for plotting to kill Charlemagne and his legitimate sons, at the instigation of several nobles who were disgusted at the cruelty of queen *Fastrada*, Charlemagne's evil counsellor.

and he took much interest in religious questions. When the cause of image-worship had triumphed in the East, and the decisions of the Second Council of Nice were upheld by the Pope's authority; Charlemagne called a council of the Western Church at Frankfort³, A.D. 794, in which all such adoration was unequivocally condemned. He also transmitted to Pope Adrian a treatise against idolatry, in four books (*Libri Carolini*). The Pope temporised; but during the dark ages which followed, the evil superstition, though thus strongly denounced, silently gained ground⁴.

In the spring of the year 799, at the time of a solemn procession on St. Mark's Day, *Leo III.*, the next Pope, was seized, wounded, and imprisoned by the leaders of a hostile faction. He escaped, however, from their hands; fled to Germany; and at the diet of Paderborn, called upon Charlemagne to help him. Charlemagne speedily caused him to be restored.

A. D. 800. *Charlemagne, Emperor of the West.*

804. End of the Saxon Wars.

806. Partition of Thionville.

808. War with the Danes and Wilzes.

810. Friesland ravaged. Death of Godfrey, and of Pepin.

811. Peace concluded with Hemming. Death of Charles.

814. Death of Charlemagne.

At the close of the last year of the eighth century, Charlemagne once more visited Rome; and on Christmas-day, when he was at mass in the church of the Vatican,

³ Upwards of 300 bishops and abbots, and several laymen of high rank, are said to have sat in this council: two of the Pope's legates presided.

⁴ An inaccuracy—the council of Nice had been called the council of Constantinople—unfortunately enabled the cunning Pope to represent the fathers of Frankfort as misinformed with regard to the case.

the Pope placed a crown of gold upon his head, and proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans⁵. The clergy and people took the oath of obedience to him as emperor; his courtiers now had to kneel before him, and to stoop down and kiss his foot. The Byzantine monarchs thought fit to acknowledge his title, although they withheld it from his successors.

From this time, Charlemagne employed himself in revising the laws and institutions of his subjects. He allowed the inhabitants of conquered countries to retain their own customs with such modifications as he deemed indispensable: the unwritten usages of the Frisians, Saxons, and Thuringians were also now embodied in Latin codes. His activity was felt in every department of the administration. He would, at one time, be providing for the sale of the eggs produced in the royal farms; at another, he was busily engaged in a grand, but fruitless attempt to unite the Danube and the Rhine, the German Ocean and the Black Sea. He reformed the coinage; he constructed highways; he opened fairs and markets; he founded bishoprics, and built churches; he established schools, collected libraries, and encouraged learning and learned men⁶. Owing to his love of letters, and perhaps also to raise a counterbalance to the influence of the nobles, he was a great, and even imprudent patron of the

⁵ The circumstance that there was no emperor at the time, Irene, a female, being on the throne of Constantinople, may have suggested the idea of reviving the empire in Italy. Leo III. now bethought himself of a marriage between Charlemagne and Irene; but Irene would not give her consent.

⁶ Such as *Eginhard*, his secretary and friend; *Peter of Pisa*; and the famous English monk *Alouin*, at whose suggestion he caused lectures to be given at Paris, which were deemed to have been the first beginnings of the university in that city. His own learning was considerable; yet he could not write easily, having taken lessons late in life, and for amusement only.

clergy: he upheld their jurisdiction; freed them from the control of the civil magistrate; and made the payment of tithes compulsory, instead of being only enjoined as a religious duty⁷. Moreover, he let several duchies expire without renewal; he gave few countries hereditarily, or to be held conjointly with others; and by the institution of the *Missi Dominici*⁸, or imperial commissioners, he held the most powerful of his lords in check. He was, however, far too ready to shed blood and to use violence, especially in putting down heathenism; and it must be owned that he was an unchaste polygamist⁹. Yet his wise economy and temperance, his valour, scholarship, and genius, have raised him high among the rulers and conquerors of men: the French have owned him to be the greatest of their kings; the Germans have claimed him as one of the glories of their race; the Italians were glad to adopt him as their emperor; the Church was fain to honour him as a nursing father¹; and none but himself could wield his

⁷ Tithes were originally applied to the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy, the repair of the churches, and the relief of the poor. They were then paid from every kind of property.

⁸ The *Missi Regii* or *Dominici*—one of whom was a prelate; the other, a noble of high rank—went on circuits throughout each *Legation*, or chief district, to redress abuses and enforce the right administration of justice; to call the clergy, nobles, and magistrates to account; to inspect the condition of the churches, monasteries, and imperial demesnes; and to revise the lists of those who had to serve in war. Every owner of three or four *Mansi*, or homesteads, might be called to bear arms for three months, defaulters being liable to the *heerbann*, a heavy and ruinous fine.

⁹ Besides his four wives, of whom the first and second were unceremoniously divorced, he had five concubines. Four of these he kept at the same time, to console himself for the loss of his fourth wife, the young and fair *Liutgarda*, who died in June 800.

¹ Charlemagne was even canonised by an anti-pope, at the request of Frederic Barbarossa; and Lewis XI. caused his festival to be kept in France, on pain of death.

sceptre, and keep together the vast power which he had created².

In the year 804, Charlemagne finally subdued the Saxons. They were allowed to have their own laws, under a duke of their own nation; but all who would not be baptized were put to death. The country on the right bank of the Elbe, the stronghold of heathenism, was given to the Obotrites; and the turbulent population which had inhabited it, was mostly transplanted into the waste lands of Brabant and Flanders. Many, however, fled into the fastnesses of Scandinavia, and swelled the numbers of the Northmen who were about to ravage the coasts of Europe. Charlemagne lived to witness the outburst of the storm³. *Godfrey* the Dane, in the year 808, joined the Wilzes in attacking the Obotrites; and a piratical war now raged, during which the fleet of the Northmen made a descent upon Friesland, A.D. 810. When the indignant emperor had crossed the Rhine to avenge himself, he found that the invaders were gone away, *Godfrey* having been murdered by one of his followers. A peace was concluded, the next spring, with *Hemming*, the nephew and successor of the Danish prince, which was sworn to on the banks of the *Eyder*, the frontier of the Empire⁴.

Either the genius or the power of Charlemagne was unable to break through the custom of partition which had been so fatal to the Franks. At an assembly at Thionville, Jan. 806, he assigned Austrasia and Germany to his eldest son *Charles*; Italy (Rome, the seat of empire excepted),

² So renowned was he, that the Caliph Harun al Rashid sent him an embassy, A.D. 801, which presented him with a striking-clock in which were moving figures, and with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre.

³ He is said to have wept at the sight of their retreating ships, foreseeing the evils which they were about to bring upon his empire.

⁴ Pepin and Lewis had wars with the Saracens. Pepin also won some advantages over the Venetians; but met with a repulse at Rialto (one of the isles on which Venice is built).

Bavaria, and his Pannonian conquests to his son *Pepin*; and Aquitaine, Burgundy, Provence, and the Spanish March, to his son *Lewis*⁵. Charles, who had distinguished himself against the Sorbes and Bohemians, died, Dec. 811, having been preceded to the grave by *Pepin*, July 810; and *Lewis* was solemnly taken as a colleague in the empire by his father at Aix-la-Chapelle, Sept. 813⁶.

Charlemagne did not live much longer. He died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his capital, Jan. 814, in the seventy-second year of his age⁷.

A. D. 814. *Lewis I.*, the *Debonair*.

817. *Lewis* divides his dominions. *Bernard*, king of Italy, revolts.

818. Death of *Bernard*.

820. *Lothaire* made king of Italy.

822. Penitence of *Lewis* at Attigny.

829. *Lewis* gives Alemannia to his son *Charles*.

830. *Lewis* is overpowered; but recovers his authority.

833. "The Field of Lies;" *Lewis* dethroned. Penance at Soissons.

834. *Lewis* again recovers his power.

837. Norman ravages. Fresh partition of the empire.

838. Incursions of the Normans and Saracens. *Pepin I.*, of Aquitaine, dies.

839. *Lothaire* reconciled at Worms. Partition of the empire.

840. War with *Lewis* of Bavaria; *Lewis I.* dies.

LEWIS I., the *Debonair*⁸, had displayed much ability in Aquitaine, of which he had been king from his early childhood. But though brave, learned, and well-meaning, he

⁵ Charlemagne had several daughters, whom he would not allow to marry in his life-time. They were more remarkable for their beauty than for their modesty.

⁶ On this occasion, an imperial crown was placed on the altar, and the prince was commanded to put it on his own head. This was to bar any claim of the Pope to dispose of the empire.

⁷ Unlike his father, he was a tall, large man.

⁸ By the French, he was called the *Débonnaire*, from his good nature; by the Italians and Germans he is termed the *Pious*.

was too soft-hearted, and his reign as an emperor was weak and unhappy⁹.

His troubles began when he took his first-born son *Lothaire* as his colleague, and bestowed Aquitaine and Bavaria upon *Pepin* and *Lewis*, his younger children, July 817. For *Bernard* (the bastard of his late brother *Pepin*), to whom Charlemagne had given the kingdom of Italy¹, looking upon himself as wronged, plotted with the disaffected nobles and prelates, and took up arms. Yet before a drop of blood was shed, the youthful prince, alarmed by the desertions among his followers, went to his uncle's camp at Châlons on the Saone, and threw himself at his feet; relying on the treacherous assurances of the empress *Hermengarda*, who secretly coveted his inheritance. Bernard was harshly doomed to die; and though Lewis contented himself with depriving him of sight, *Hermengarda* had the sentence so barbarously executed, April 818, that he did not live three days. The rest of Lewis' life was clouded with remorse. His wife having died, he seriously thought of shutting himself up in a convent; and at the diet of Attigny, Aug. 822, he actually made profession of penitence, and sought pardon of all those against whom he had sinned².

⁹ His love of justice, however, made him offend the clergy by trying to reform the lives of spiritual persons. Nor did he spare his father's house. He cleared the royal mistresses out of the palace, and punished the lovers of his sisters and their nieces (the five daughters of his brother *Pepin*). Charlemagne's ministers, *St. Adelard*, abbot of *Corbie*, and *St. Wala*, the children of *Bernard* (a bastard son of Charles Martel), were also disgraced: the latter was obliged to become a monk.

¹ As a dependency on the Empire, Oct. 812.—The year before this outbreak, the new pope (*Stephen IV.*) went to France to excuse his election without the Emperor's sanction, and crowned him at Rheims, Aug. 816.

² Amongst these were *Adelard* and *Wala*, and three illegitimate brothers whom he had forced to become monks.

Lewis had granted the kingdom of Italy to Lothaire; and in a diet held at Nimeguen, May 821, having no child by his second wife, *Judith*, the beautiful daughter of the Bavarian count *Welf*, he had confirmed and settled the partition of his dominions. The birth of a son, known in history as *Charles the Bald*, June 823, thus proved to be the source of much confusion. For though Lothaire was once gained over by Judith, and at the diet of Worms, Aug. 829, Swabia, Alsatia, and part of Switzerland were assigned as a kingdom to the young intruder; he quickly changed his mind, and in the beginning of the next year, he joined with his brothers in a war against his father. The Emperor found his army faithless, and was forced to yield himself into their hands; his wife's unpopular favourite, *Bernard* count of *Barcelona*, the chamberlain and prime minister, fled for his life³; and the empress herself was accused of adultery, and frightened into taking the veil in the nunnery of St. Radegunda. In a few months, however, Oct. 830, Lewis had recovered his authority⁴. Bernard and Judith were soon recalled⁵, and their great adversary *St. Wala*, abbot of *Corbie*, a firebrand of sedition, was sent to live in seclusion at Noirmontiers.

The weakness of Lewis, which has an air of premature

³ Also duke of *Septimania*. He was son of *William au Courte Nez*, duke of *Thoulouse*.

⁴ Lewis had gained the attachment of the Saxons and Frisians by restoring to them the right of bequeathing their lands to their children; the *Franks* also were opposed to the *French*, the population in the South and West, by whom his sons were supported. The monk Gundebald managed to sow dissension between Lothaire and his brothers; and Nimeguen, a town in the midst of the loyal districts, was artfully chosen as the place of the autumnal assembly. Lothaire, thoroughly daunted, abandoned his friends: these were condemned to die, but were afterwards forgiven.

⁵ Bernard, who had been accused of being the father of Charles the Bald, Judith's child, protested his innocence of every thing that had been laid to his charge, and offered to fight any of his accusers.

dotage, still proved his bane. Even Bernard, jealous of the influence gained by the monk *Gundebald*, became the sworn ally of Wala and Pepin; and in the year 832, a fresh rebellion broke out, for which Aquitaine was declared to be forfeited. It was bestowed on Charles the Bald; a measure which caused such alarm and indignation, that the three elder brothers again leagued themselves together, being countenanced by pope *Gregory IV.*, who, in hopes of saving blood by negotiation, accompanied Lothaire, when their armies formed a junction in the plains of Rothfeld, near Colmar, June 833. At this place, afterwards called Lügenfeld, or the "Field of Lies," there was no fighting: Lewis was deserted by his nobles and warriors on Midsummer night, and being quite helpless, submitted to the rebels. His wife and her child were taken from him; and in the autumn, he was solemnly deposed at Compiègne, and made to undergo a most abject penance at Soissons, where he owned himself guilty of many grievous crimes, and, laying his sword and belt upon the altar, was clad in the sackcloth of a penitent.

Lothaire now displayed such arrogance that even his brothers rose against him. He had to flee before them, March 834, leaving his father free at Paris: the old man was forthwith reinstated, and his rebel son, though victorious for a while, was in his turn abandoned by his soldiers near Blois, and reduced to beg for mercy⁶. The rest of Lewis' reign was still stormy. The Frisian and French coasts were ravaged by the Normans; the Saracens pillaged Marseilles, and infested the Gulf of Lyons and the Spanish frontier; and to crown all, the Empire was again and again unsettled by fresh partitions for the sake of

⁶ He was obliged to retire into Italy; and the next year, he was deprived of the title of emperor and of his dominions north of the Alps.

Judith's child. The last of these took place at Worms, May 839, about five months after the death of the high-spirited Pepin: Charles the Bald was to have all the countries on the west of the Meuse, the Rhone, and the Saone; Lewis the Germanic was only to keep Bavaria; and Lothaire was to get the rest of the inheritance, as the price of his support to the scheme. But the people of Aquitaine bravely upheld the rights of Pepin's son, and Lewis the Germanic likewise appealed to the sword; and the Emperor, while engaged in an unjust war with his son and grandchild, died of water on the chest at Ingelheim, worn out and well nigh broken-hearted, June 840.

A. D. 840. Lothaire I.

841. Lothaire is defeated by his brothers at Fontenay.

843. Treaty of Verdun.

LOTHAIRE I. was too ambitious and overbearing to agree with his brothers. Charles and Lewis were thus driven to unite, and they routed him and his nephew, *Pepin II.* of Aquitaine, at Fontenay in Burgundy, June 841: in this bloody battle, the flower of the nobles perished¹.

The unhappy struggle still continuing, the Normans, the Bretons, and the Saracens ravaged France with impunity; and in Saxony, where Lothaire had stirred up the people with offers of liberty, the lesser freemen and the *Lazzi*², or serfs, fell upon the nobles and returned in crowds to their old heathenism. Thus, though Lothaire had been forced

¹ Lewis and Charles afterwards confirmed their league at Strasburg, Feb. 842, Lewis taking the oath in the Romance language (or corrupted Latin) spoken by his brother's subjects, and Charles in the Tudesque, which was the dialect of his German allies. We also find that tournaments were held thus early. At a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, the bishops authorized the two princes to take and divide the kingdom.

² These *Lazzi* seem to have been a conquered race of Slavic origin.

to flee into Italy, his foes had reason to wish for peace. After some delay, caused by sending commissioners to survey the Empire, a new partition was agreed to at Verdun, Aug. 843: Lothaire had Italy with the imperial title, and the countries between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine; Lewis got the German provinces beyond the Rhine (Friesland excepted), together with Spire, Worms, and Mentz; and Charles the Bald was to receive for his share all the territory in Gaul to the west of the Scheld, the Upper Meuse, the Rhone, and the Saone, and also the Spanish March⁹.

This famous treaty of Verdun may be considered as the period of the separation of the French and the Germans. By it the empire of the Franks was riven asunder, never to be permanently reunited¹.

A. D. 847. Assembly at Mersen.

855. Death of Lothaire I.; Lewis II.

863. Death of Charles of Provence.

869. King Lothaire II. dies; Charles the Bald seizes Lorraine.

871. Lewis II. taken prisoner by the duke of Benevento.

875. Lewis II. dies.

⁹ He was, however, obliged, after an unsuccessful war (during which he put his reputed father Bernard, now duke of Thoulouse, to death), to acknowledge PEPIN II. as king of Aquitaine, June 845. But Pepin, who was a drunken, feeble prince, several times lost and regained his crown: in the year 865, he was betrayed into the hands of Charles, who had once shut him up in a monastery, and he died in prison. Thus, after many struggles and revolts, Aquitaine was reduced. Pepin had a brother, named *Charles*, who had been taken prisoner and was obliged to become an ecclesiastic.

¹ It has been remarked that few towns or villages have changed their language since the ninth century. In Austrasia, the Walloon country was Celtic and spoke French; but on the Alsatian frontier were the Salian and Ripuarian Franks, the strength of the Carolingian rule, the chief seat of which, in the reign of Charlemagne, was at Aix-la-Chapelle. In Neustria, among the land-holders and in the higher classes only, were the Franks the majority; whereas in Aquitaine the Visigoths and Romans predominated.

At an assembly at Mersen, Feb. 847, it was further settled that each of the brothers should be succeeded by his children. Thus the empire was broken up into kingdoms which were constantly subdividing.

The rule of a race of degenerate princes, several of whom were named from personal defects, was attended with fearful misery. Their weakness and petty ambition caused numerous wars and revolts, while their want of energy left their dominions defenceless against the invader from without: a few hundred Normans could easily spread havoc over a land of which the nobles and freemen had dwindled, and where the cities were unwallled, and a wretched population, never taught the use of arms, was fain to put its trust in the relics of the saints². Popes were chosen without the Emperor's leave being asked; and the worldly power of the clergy, the only body of men which displayed any vigour³, dangerously increased.

On the death of Lothaire I., of slow fever, Aug. 855, about a week after he had put on the habit of a monk, his eldest son, LEWIS II., had Italy with the title of emperor⁴. The territory between the Meuse and the Rhine, already called Lotharingia or Lorrain (Lothaire's realm), was given

² This was the age of *Ragner Lodbrok*, who pillaged Paris, March 845; of *Hastings*, said to have been a peasant of Champaign, who was driven by oppression to join himself with the heathen pirates of the north; and of *Oger the Dane*, who, in the autumn of 851, burned Aix-la-Chapelle, Treves, and Cologne, while other detachments of his countrymen sailed up the Meuse and the Seine. When Paris was again pillaged, and St. Geneviève and other churches burned, Dec. 856, a sum was given to buy the retreat of the ruthless pagans.

³ Among these was *Hincmar*, archbishop of *Rheims*, whose pride often led him to withstand the Pope himself. He caused the predestinarian monk *Gotteschalc* to be condemned by a council, scourged, and shut up in prison for life, A.D. 853.

⁴ Lewis II. had Provence; Lothaire had what was termed *Transane Burgundy*.

to *Lothaire*, the second son ; and *Charles*, the youngest, got Provence, the country between the Rhone and the Alps, for his kingdom. This last prince died in the year 863, and his inheritance was divided between his brothers.

The new emperor, whose capital was Pavia, was far from being powerful. He had to struggle with the Saracens, by whom Italy was invaded ; and when his brother *Lothaire*⁵ died, Aug. 869, he was unable to assert his undoubted right to Lorraine against his uncle *Charles the Bald*⁶. Once he was seized and imprisoned by *Adelgisio*, duke of *Benevento*, Aug. 871. When released, he was made to swear that he would never enter the duke's domain with an army ; but the Pope sanctioned the breach of a promise extorted by compulsion. He died, Aug. 875, leaving no male heirs.

A. D. 858. *Charles the Bald* dispossessed by *Lewis* of Germany.

859. *Charles the Bald* recovers his dominions.

875. *Charles II.*, the *Bald*, crowned emperor.

876. Death of *Lewis* of Germany. Battle of *Andernach*.

877. *Lewis III.*, the *Stammerer*.

879. Death of *Lewis III*.

⁵ *LOTHAIRE II.*, king of Lorraine, is remarkable for his dispute with the pope *Nicholas I.* and *Hincmar*. He had divorced his wife *Theutberga*, who, when accused of incest with her brother, had cleared herself by the ordeal of boiling water, but had afterwards been induced or intimidated to own herself guilty ; and he had married *Waldrada*, a young lady whom he had seduced. More than one council and several bishops had sanctioned these proceedings, even in opposition to the Pope himself, whose determination at length won the day. *Lothaire* hoped to find *Adrian*, the successor of *Nicholas*, less inflexible ; but he and his followers were made to receive the communion from the Pope's hand, subject to a curse if he either had violated the injunctions of *Nicholas* with regard to *Waldrada*, or meant to do so. The deaths of *Lothaire* and his companions, one after another, in a few months, were deemed proofs of their guilt and of God's displeasure.

⁶ *Charles* was forced, however, to share the prize with *Lewis* of Germany, who had the generosity to give up his part to his nephew.

CHARLES II. *the Bald*, having gained the support of the Pope, was crowned emperor on Christmas-day at Rome. He had thus supplanted his elder brother, Lewis of Germany, by whom he had formerly, for a short time, been driven from his throne⁷. That prince died soon afterwards, Aug. 877, leaving three sons, *Carloman* and *Lewis*, who inherited the kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony, and *Charles the Fat* who became duke or king of Swabia. Charles the Bald now wanted to seize his late brother's share of Lorraine; but he was beaten at the battle of Andernach by his nephew Lewis of Saxony, Oct. 876, at a time when the Normans were ravaging his coasts.

Having agreed to pay a contribution to the Northern freebooters, the cowardly yet restless emperor passed over into Italy, which was in a troubled state. But he hastened back affrighted at the approach of Carloman of Bavaria with an army; and as he was crossing the Mont Cenis, he sickened with fever and died, Oct. 877⁸. Carloman had himself crowned king of Italy at Pavia.

LEWIS III. *the Stammerer* (le Bègue), the son of Charles the Bald, with some difficulty got himself re-

⁷ The government of Charles was so contemptible, that Lewis had been invited by several of the nobles to seize a kingdom which the Normans were allowed to ravage with impunity. Lewis got possession of Neustria without striking a blow, Oct. 858; but after he had allowed his German troops to return home, he found himself unable to keep his ground. When restored, Charles (while complaining of the conduct of *Winilo*, archbishop of *Sens*) freely admitted the right of the bishops to judge and depose kings.

A famous capitulary, promulgated by Charles the Bald at Kiersy, June 877, is thought to have made all fiefs hereditary: it is rather a proof that the practice was established.

⁸ The children of Charles the Bald were Lewis the Stammerer; CHARLES king of Aquitaine in opposition to Pepin II. (he died in the year 865); and the abbots *Lothaire the lame* and *Carloman*, the latter of whom had his eyes put out for rebellion against his father, and afterwards escaped to his uncle Lewis who gave him another abbey.

cognized as king by the French nobles: the Pope also came and crowned him emperor at Troyes, Sept. 878^o. He was weak in mind and body, and death soon brought his reign to a close, April 879.

A. D. 879. Lewis III. and Carloman, kings of France. Boso elected king of Arles.

880. Death of Carloman of Bavaria.

881. Charles III. the Fat. Death of king Lewis III.

882. Death of Lewis of Saxony. The war with Godfrey.

884. Death of Carloman, king of France; the empire reunited.

885. Godfrey murdered. The Normans besiege Paris.

887. *Charles the Fat deposed* (dies A.D. 888).

Two youths, *Lewis III.*¹ and *Carloman*, the elder of whom was not seventeen, succeeded to most of the dominions of their deceased father, and became kings of Neustria and Aquitaine. They had, however, to disarm the opposition of their uncle Lewis of Saxony by giving up their claims to part of Lorraine; and they also lost Provence, of which the powerful count *Boso*² was chosen sovereign with the title of king of Arles, Oct. 879, in a council of bishops summoned by his friend pope *John VIII.* Boso had married *Hermengarda*, the daughter of the em-

¹ Brittany was now governed by *Alan the Great*, who afterwards took the title of king; and since the year 872, *Sancho the Mittara* (the devastator), a descendant of duke *Lupus*, had reigned as an independent duke in Gascony, having been invited thither from Castille. The last male of his line died in 1032.

² The emperor Lewis III. was Lewis II. as king of France.

² He was the brother of *Richilda*, the second wife of Charles the Bald. Although he had been created marquis of Provence and duke of Lombardy by that emperor, Boso did not come to his aid in Italy; and he headed the opposition against his son Lewis the Stammerer, who notwithstanding got the crown of France through the influence of the aged Hincmar.

peror Lewis II., having got rid of a former wife by poison; and had aspired to the crown of Italy.

Lewis and Carloman placed themselves under the protection of their uncle Charles the Fat, and war was waged against Boso, who was more than once reduced to great straits. Lewis also somewhat distinguished himself against the Normans, winning a battle at Saulcourt in Vimeu, Aug. 881: he died twelve months afterwards of the effects of an accident which befel him at Tours³. A mischance likewise ended the days of Carloman, who had at last been obliged to give money to some of the Normans. As he was hunting a wild boar in the forest of Baisun, his leg was wounded by the sword of one of his companions: the lacerated limb gangrened, and in a few days he died, Dec. 884.

CHARLES III. *the Fat* (le Gros), on the death of his brother Carloman of Bavaria, March 880, had become master of Italy; and he had since received from the Pope the imperial crown which for a while had been in abeyance, Feb. 881. Moreover, Lewis of Saxony, who had added Bavaria to his kingdom, had died, Jan. 882, leaving no male heir to succeed him; and in France, *Charles*, the only surviving son of Lewis the Stammerer, was a mere child (having been born after his father's death), and moreover of doubtful legitimacy⁴. So that by a lucky combination of circumstances Charles the Fat was enabled

³ While riding in the streets, he pursued a young lady into her father's house. The great doorway being somewhat low, he violently struck his head against it and was hurled to the ground by the shock, being likewise fearfully bruised by the pummel of his saddle. Hopeless of recovery, he went to St. Denys, and died in the monastery there, Aug. 882.

⁴ The Pope had refused to crown his mother *Adelaide* with her husband; for *Ansgarde*, whom Lewis had divorced to please his father, was still living.

easily to re-unite the possessions of the Carolingians, with the exception of Provence which Boso had usurped.

But Charles was unworthy of his good fortune: he was a glutton, a coward, and a fool. Even as early as the year 882, when he was at the head of a vast army of Germans in Lorrain, and might have crushed the Normans whom he had beset in their intrenchments; he had the weakness to make a shameful treaty, allowing the rovers to retire laden with spoil, and bestowing the duchy of West Friesland upon their leader *Godfrey*. And when indeed his power had reached its greatest height, he dared not face Godfrey in open war; but had him murdered after he had invited him to a conference, also treacherously seizing that chieftain's new brother-in-law, *Hugh the Bastard*, the troublesome pretender to Lorrain⁴. That very year, France was overrun, and Paris (then contained within a small island in the Seine) again attacked by the sea-kings from the north: the city, which had been lately fortified, was bravely defended by *Eudes*, its valiant count, and bishop *Gosselin*⁵; and it held out for thirteen months before the sluggish emperor would come to its relief. When he did come, Nov. 886, it was not to fight. A large ransom was given to the Northmen, who were likewise tamely allowed to winter in Burgundy. Siegfried, one of their chieftains, harassed the Emperor as he retreated into Alsatia.

Charles the Fat thus fell into utter contempt, which he

⁴ This restless abbot was the son of Lothaire the younger and Waldrada: his eyes were now put out, and he was shut up in a monastery. Godfrey, after his baptism, had married his sister *Gisela*.

⁵ Eudes (Odo) count of Paris, is thought to have been the son of *Robert the Strong*, or *Brave* (le Fort), who fell fighting against the Normans in the reign of Charles the Bald, (A.D. 866). Besides Gosselin (Gauzelin) bishop of Paris, the celebrated *Abbot Hugh* (of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and St. Martin of Tours) joined in the defence: both of these died during the siege.

did not lessen by disgracing *Luitward*, bishop of *Vercell*, his rapacious arch-chancellor; whom, at the diet of *Kirkheim*, he accused of adultery with *Richarda* of *Scotland*, his empress⁶. It was felt that he was unfit to reign. And therefore, when he had called together a diet of the Eastern Franks and Germans at *Tribur*, near *Frankfort*, Nov. 887, to have his bastard son *Bernard* declared his successor; he was suddenly deposed by his indignant subjects, his nephew *Arnulf*, duke of *Carinthia*, the illegitimate son of *Carloman* of *Bavaria*, having been stirred up by *Luitward* to supplant him. But for the charity of *Luitbert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, he would have been left without bread to eat. He had to beg from the compassion of *Arnulf* a maintenance for himself and his son; which was hardly granted, when grief and misery brought him to his grave, Jan. 888.

ARNULF, the new king of Germany, afterwards obtained the imperial crown and a certain ascendancy in the countries beyond the Rhine and the Alps; yet the empire of the Franks was irretrievably broken up. France and Germany now separated for ever; two kingdoms, *Transjurane Burgundy* and *Provence*, were formed out of the old *Burgundian* territory by usurpers; and the possession of *Italy* was contested by rival chiefs who claimed descent in the female line from *Charlemagne*. An age of trouble and confusion followed, amid the throes of which Europe was regenerated.

⁶ *Richarda* declared publicly that she was a virgin wife, and offered to prove her innocence by ordeal, or by her champion in judicial combat.

SECTION VI.

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER CARLOVINGIAN KINGS.

- A. D. 888. Eudes, king of France. Guy of Spoleto opposes Eudes.
 Rodolf I. king of Transjurane Burgundy.
 890. Lewis, the son of Boso, king of Provence.
 893. Charles the Simple crowned at Rheims.
 897. Charles submits to Eudes.
 898. Death of Eudes.

Eudes, count of Paris, in the general scramble, after the deposition of Charles the Fat⁷, was elected king of France by the Neustrians⁸. To strengthen himself on the throne, he submitted to do homage to Arnulf; yet his rule was hardly acknowledged beyond the Meuse. Brittany and Gascony (and for some years, Aquitaine also⁹) were independent; in Transjurane Burgundy¹, as was just

⁷ Charles the Fat is never numbered among the kings of France.

⁸ Guy (Guido) duke of Spoleto was called into Belgium and Lorraine, where he had fiefs, and was crowned at Langres. But he soon withdrew into Italy where he afterwards became emperor.

⁹ *Ranulf II.*, count of *Poitiers* and duke of *Aquitaine*, who had taken the title of king of Aquitaine, submitted to Eudes in 892, and died the year after. His son, *Ebles* the *Bastard*, became count of Poitiers, A.D. 902; and was the father of *WILLIAM Tête d'Étoupe*, created duke of Aquitaine, A.D. 951. This powerful family ended in *ELEANOR* of Aquitaine, who married Henry II. of England, May 1152.

¹ *RODOLF I.* (whose father *Conrad* had slain Theutberga's warlike brother *Hubert*) had himself chosen king of Transjurane Burgundy, at St. Maurice in the Valais, A.D. 888, and was recognised by Arnulf whose authority was held to be supreme. Dying about the year 912, he left his dominions, which included most of Switzerland and part of Savoy, to his son *RODOLF II.*; who for a short time contested the crown of Italy, and by a fortunate treaty permanently acquired most of the kingdom of Provence. Thus was formed, A.D. 933, the second kingdom of Arles, the boundaries of which were the Rhine, the Reuss, the ridges of the Jura, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Alps.

Rodolf II. died in the year 933; his son *CONRAD* the *Pacific*,

mentioned, a kingdom was established by *Rodolf I.*, a powerful chieftain; and *Lewis*, the son of *Boso*, was likewise crowned in Provence². The allegiance of the great nobles³ was little more than nominal.

also called the *Black*, Oct. 993; and his grandson, *RODOLF III.*, the *Sluggard*, in whom this line of kings ended, Sept. 1032. The Emperor *Conrad* the *Salic*, whom *Rodolf* the *Sluggard*, in need of a protector against his unruly vassals, had declared his heir,—he had married *Giela* of *Swabia*, *Rodolf*'s niece,—then obtained the sovereignty of a kingdom which had been so mismanaged that it brought him no real strength. The chief lords, such as the counts of *PROVENCE*, *Vienne* (afterwards termed *dauphins*), *SAVOY*, *BURGUNDY* (or *Franche-Comté*), *MONTBELIARD*, and the Archbishops of *LYONS*, *BESANÇON*, *ARLES*, and the bishop of *BASLE*, either were, or soon became, only nominal subjects.

² *LEWIS* of *Provence*, *Boso*'s son by *Hermengarda*, was a child about seven years old when his father died, Jan. 887. He at once submitted to his mother's kinsman *Charles the Fat*; but not long after his fall, in the year 890, he was elected, in an assembly at *Valence*, to his father's kingdom of *Arles*, *Provence*, or *Cisjurane Burgundy*. In after life, like his neighbour *Rodolf II.*, he strove to make himself master of *Italy*. But though he was crowned emperor, he was at last surprised by *Berenger*, his opponent, and deprived of sight, July 905: he was led back to *Provence*, where he seems to have been still living as late as 928. *Hugh*, count of *Arles*, governed for him when blind, as count of *Provence*.

Lewis the *Blind*, by his wife *Elgiva* (the sister of king *Athelstan*), had a son, *Charles Constantine*, who was set aside by count *Hugh*. The latter never took the title of king of *Provence*; and in fact he soon gave up most of that kingdom by treaty to *Rodolf II.* of *Transjurane Burgundy*, on condition that the latter should cease from competing with him for the crown of *Lombardy*, A.D. 933.

³ The principal of these were *Baldwin II.*, count of *FLANDERS* (whose father *Baldwin I.*, the last husband of *Judith* queen of *England*, the daughter of *Charles the Bald*, became count in 862); *Herbert* or *Héribert I.* (the son of *Pepin*, son of *Bernard* king of *Italy*), count of *VERMANDAIS*, about the year 888; *Richard* (the brother of king *Boso*) duke of *BURGUNDY*, A.D. 877,—the *duchy* of *Burgundy*, be it remembered, was a fief of *France*; *Fulk I.*, count of *ANJOU* (the son of *Ingelger*, who was made count in 870); *Evda*

Eudes displayed activity against the Normans ⁴, but with little success. Thus his popularity suffered, and while he was engaged in reducing Aquitaine, *Fulk* archbishop of *Rheims*, and *Herbert I.* count of *Vermandais*, sent for the boy Charles the Simple from England, and crowned him at Rheims, Jan. 893. At the first summons of Eudes' herald, the insurgents returned to their allegiance, and the insignificant pretender was forced to flee. But the war was speedily renewed. *Baldwin II.*, the proud count of *Flanders*, *Richard* duke of *Burgundy*, and *Zwentibold* king of *Lorraine* ⁵, supported the claims of Charles; which had been admitted by Arnulf himself, though but for a short time. After a languid but exhausting struggle, which lasted some years, Eudes was induced by the re-appearance of the Normans to grant fair terms to his domestic foes: a large apanage in Neustria was given to Charles, who had been brought to great distress, and had tendered his submission. It is said, moreover, that on his death-bed a few months afterwards, Jan. 898, Eudes recommended that his late opponent should be chosen to succeed him.

A. D. 898. Charles the Simple.

911. The Normans ravage France; treaty with Rollo.

912. *Rollo and the Normans settle in Neustria.*

920. Assembly at Soissons; revolt of the nobles.

921. Treaty of Bonn.

922. Robert, duke of France, proclaimed king.

count of *THOULOUSE*, whose father *Raymond I.* was created count in 852; *Alduin*, (the son of *Wulgrin*, who was made count of *Angoulême* in 866); *William the Pious*, count of *Auvergne*, to whom the duchy of Aquitaine was granted after the death of *Ranulf II.* See p. 267, note 9.

⁴ The Normans attacked Paris in the autumn of 889, and also in the following summer; but were repulsed by the citizens, whom practice had taught the use of arms.

⁵ The illegitimate son of Arnulf. So little respected was Charles, that at the fruitless siege of *Laon* (A. D. 895), many of his vassals abandoned him and became the subjects of his ally, king *Zwentibold*.

A. D. 923. Robert slain near Soissons. Captivity and deposition of Charles the Simple.

CHARLES III., the *Simple*, was one of the weakest of princes, and under his government the condition of France was truly miserable. The prelates and the great lords ruled uncontrouled in their fiefs, and would wage war against the king or against each other; and the distracted country was wasted by the Normans, and even by the Hungarians⁶. Yet in the very depth of its wretchedness were the sources of its future strength. It was one of the causes of the decline of Charlemagne's once mighty empire, that the freemen had been suffered to fall into decay, and had given place to flocks and herds⁷; but it was now discovered that the wealth which could not defend itself was worthless, and the landowners were driven to build strongholds, and to gather round them stalwart men who could fight when needed. Land was largely granted for tillage, on the tenure of military service; and in one or two generations, a warlike population had grown up, and society, though grievously shattered, had risen from the ruin into which it had fallen.

It was in this reign, that the Normans, under *Rollo* the *Ganger*⁸, settled themselves in France. In the year 911, that renowned warrior, who had long been the scourge of the western sea-coast of Europe, and had played a foremost part in all the great invasions of his day, sailed up the

⁶ The Normans, Hungarians, and Saracens assailed the frontiers of the Transjuran kingdom of Burgundy. These last also ravaged the kingdom of Provence.

⁷ Until the weakness of the Empire had opened it to the ravages of the marauders, the remoteness of the frontiers, owing to its vastness, had betrayed its inhabitants into false security; and no care was taken to keep up a race of warriors, or even to fortify towns.

⁸ So called from his activity and the length of his legs. He had first visited France as early as the year 876.

Seine with a large fleet, and attacked Paris : other chieftains at the same time ascended the Loire and the Garonne, and a detachment of his troops ravaged Burgundy. He received indeed a severe check at Chartres, in July, being forced to raise the siege of that town by Richard duke of Burgundy, and *Robert* duke of *France*⁹ (the brother of king Eudes); but it only heightened his fury. His Normans were let loose to destroy the country far and wide : the churches were burned ; the priests were massacred ; all who could not fight or flee were slain, nothing alive being spared except the women, who were led away captive. The cries of his perishing subjects rang so loudly in the ears of Charles the Simple, that he was roused at last to do something. *Franco*, the archbishop of *Rouen*, was sent to the fierce heathen conqueror with the offer of a large tract of maritime Neustria, of which a portion was already occupied by the Northmen, and the rest had become a wilderness : Rollo and his followers were to conform to the Christian faith and to respect the sovereignty of the French king. These terms were readily agreed to. On the banks of the Epte, at St. Clair, Rollo met Charles the Simple and Robert duke of France ; and there he swore fealty to his new king, who gave him his daughter *Gisela*¹ in marriage, and the lordship over the rebel province of Brittany.

In the beginning of the year 912, Rollo was baptized by

⁹ Robert had succeeded his brother Eudes as count of Paris. His duchy of France, included a large tract of country between the Seine and the Loire, besides the counties of Paris and Orleans.

¹ Or *Gisla*. Rollo had put away his wife *Pope* (or *Papie*) ; but he took her back again, after the death of the ill-used *Gisela* in 919.—When Rollo received the investiture of his duchy, he refused to kneel down and kiss the feet of Charles the Simple, but ordered a soldier to do it for him. The fellow, without kneeling, lifted the king's foot to his lips and fairly upset him, amid the laughter of the Norman bystanders.

the name of Robert, the duke of France being his godfather. He divided his duchy into districts, in each of which one of his chieftains, raised to be a count, allotted fiefs to the soldiers under him ; but though he thus adopted the Feudal system, he allowed no courts but his own to administer justice. By severe laws, vigorously enforced, he put down robbery, and established perfect order throughout his dominions²; the towns were walled; the mouths of rivers secured against pirates; the churches rebuilt; tillage encouraged, and colonists invited from Scandinavia and every quarter to people the wastes. Having few women with them, the Northmen married French wives: these

² So dreaded was Rollo, that in Normandy, even down to the time of the French revolution, wrongs and encroachments were stopped at once (until the decision of the judge could be given) by the famous cry of *Haro !* (ha ! Rou, or Rollon) *haro ! haro ! à l'aide mon prince !*—This cry is still raised in the Channel Islands.

ROLLO, some years before he died, resigned his duchy (A.D. 927) to his brave son WILLIAM I., *Longsword*; who humbled the Bretons, and was treacherously murdered at a conference by Arnulf, count of Flanders, Dec. 943. RICHARD I., *the Fearless*, Longsword's illegitimate son, is remarkable for his struggles with Lewis IV. of France. At the treaty of St. Clair on the Epte (A.D. 946), the boundary of Normandy was extended to the Epte, and the exemption of the duke from all military service was acknowledged. RICHARD II., *the Good*, his son, succeeded, Nov. 996, and died, Aug. 1026 or 7. Next came his two sons, RICHARD III., who died twelve months after his accession; and ROBERT I., called the *Magnificent* for his liberality, and the *Devil* from his ruthless way of waging war. He went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and died at Nice as he was returning, July 1035. WILLIAM *the Bastard*, his son by *Arletta* or *Herleva* (whose father had been a tanner at Falaise), better known as the Conqueror of England, had to fight hard for the succession to his duchy; which, on his death, was inherited by his unfortunate son ROBERT, Sept. 1087. After the battle of Tenchebray, Sept. 1106, Normandy was held by the English kings (the latter years of Stephen's reign being excepted, when it was in the possession of Geoffrey Plantagenet and his son Henry); and it was lost by king John in 1104.

taught their own faith and language to their children, who inherited the spirit and hardihood of their sires. Normandy, held by a fine race of men distinguished by their love of enterprise and zeal for religion, thus became the bulwark of France; which, when no longer overrun by strangers, began to recover slowly from its distracted state.

On the extinction of the German branch of the Carolingians, which happened at this period, Lorrain placed itself under the supremacy of Charles the Simple. But the little power he thus gained he gradually lost, owing to the troubles which befell him at home. The insolence of *Hagano*, his low-born favourite, was more than his nobles could bear with³. When they were called upon to repel an onslaught of the Hungarians, they refused to march; and in the following year, A.D. 820, several of them met at Soissons, to bring the hated minister to justice and to depose his master. Charles escaped the danger for a while; but at last, by his besotted partiality to Hagano, he roused the fury of the count-abbot *Hugh the Great*⁴, the son of the duke of France, and thus put the finishing stroke to his own ruin. Hugh was supported by his father, and by *Rodolf* duke of *Burgundy*⁵; Laon, the royal capital,—one of the few towns which had not been given away as a fief,—together with the treasure which was kept there, fell into the hands of the insurgents; and the king, deserted by

³ He once kept Robert duke of France, and Henry the Fowler (who was the duke of Saxony and an ally of Charles), waiting four days for an audience at the door of the king's chamber.

⁴ Or the *White*. Though a layman, he held a number of rich abbeys. An abbey which belonged to his mother-in-law had been recklessly given to Hagano.

⁵ The son of Richard of Burgundy, who had died the year before, Aug. 921.

his army, fled beyond the Meuse into Lorrain⁶. The throne was now declared to be vacant, and duke Robert was crowned king of France, June 922.

ROBERT had hardly reigned a twelvemonth, when Charles, who had been forced to make a truce, suddenly got together a number of Lorrainers, and attacked and overpowered him near Soissons, June 923. But when the usurper had fallen, his troops were rallied by his son Hugh, and the conquerors, in their turn, were routed: as they retreated homewards, they dispersed.

Hugh the Great, now count of Paris and duke of France⁷, did not think fit to succeed his father as king, but put forward his sister's husband, the duke of Burgundy; who was accordingly crowned at Soissons, July 923. In the meanwhile, Charles the Simple, once more a fugitive, foolishly trusted to the fair-spoken words and oaths of *Herbert II.*, the treacherous count of *Vermandais*, and was shut up in hopeless captivity at Péronne. His wife *Edgiva* (or *Ogive*) fled with his little child to England, where she found shelter in the court of king *Athelstan*, her brother.

A. D. 923. Rodolf king of France.

924. Defeat of the Hungarians near Narbonne.

⁶ For many years, the frontier of the French and German kingdoms fluctuated in Lorrain, it being agreed that each party should keep the sovereignty over its adherents. At the treaty of amity at Bonn, Nov. 921, between Charles the Simple and Henry the Fowler (whom while rebel duke of Saxony, before he came to the throne, the French monarch had supported), Charles was styled king of the Western Franks, and Henry, king of the Eastern Franks.

⁷ He was duke of *Neustria* (the country between the Loire and the Seine), and of *France* (between the Seine and the Meuse); and lay abbot—such encroachments were common in an age in which might made right, and perhaps the monks were not always sorry to have a powerful warrior at their head—of St. Martin of Tours, St. Denys, and St. Germain des Prés.

A. D. 927. Charles the Simple released (again confined, A.D. 928).

929. Death of Charles the Simple.

930. Defeat of the Normans near Limoges.

931. War in Lorraine.

935. Peace in Lorraine.

936. Death of Rodolf.

RODOLF (also called *RAOUL*), the new king, had little authority out of his own duchy. In the South of France, his title was not so much as acknowledged while Charles the Simple was alive; and in the North, the duke of France and the count of Vermandais were too powerful to be dealt with as subjects. The latter of these intruded *Hugh*, one of his children (a boy about five years old), into the archbishopric of Rheims; and when *Roger* count of *Laon*^s died, A.D. 927, he wanted to have the fief for his son *Eudes*, to the prejudice of the rightful heir. Rodolf would not yield his consent; but the imperious count wrung it from him by allying himself with *William Longsword*, the duke of *Normandy*, and setting Charles the Simple free. In this dispute, Hugh the Great acted as peace-maker. Charles, who seems to have lost all energy, had to return to his prison: Rodolf, however, procured his enlargement, and treated him with kindness. He died near Péronne, Oct. 929.

In the beginning of Rodolf's reign (A.D. 924), the Hungarians, after ravaging Italy, sacked Nismes and spread desolation over the plains of Provence: they were overpowered near Narbonne by *Raymond Pontius III.*, count of *Thoulouse*. For some years also did the Northmen from Denmark, under *Ragenold*, infest France. They once surprised and wounded Rodolf, in a night sally, when he was besieging their winter-camp at Arras (A.D. 926); but the war ended

^s Roger had received the county of Laon from Rodolf. From Laon, in the year 923, he sallied forth upon the retreating army of Charles the Simple, captured its baggage, and completed its dispersion.

in their being cut to pieces in a battle which he fought with them in the neighbourhood of Limoges (A.D. 930). Nor were these the only troubles of the times. Soon after this deliverance, *Gislebert* duke of *Lorrain* and his ally the count of *Vermандаis* were at feud with *Hugh the Great*; so that in *Neustria* and *Lorrain* there was besieging of towns and castles, and much shedding of blood. Peace was at last restored, in the year 935, by the kings of Germany and France, who had taken part in the quarrel of their vassals, but not as principals. *Rodolf* died childless, Jan. 936.

Hugh the Black, count of *Burgundy*, the brother of *Rodolf*, claimed the succession to his duchy. He was opposed by *Gislebert* count of *Dijon*, who had married his sister *Hermengarda*; and a fierce contest arose, in which *Hugh the Great* interfered, and thus managed to get for himself most of the disputed territory⁹.

A.D. 936. *Lewis IV.* (d'Outremer).

939. *Lewis* invited into *Lorrain*; troubles in France.

941. Defeat of *Lewis* at *Château Porcien*.

942. Peace. *Aigrold* restored. Death of *William Longsword*.

944. Young *Richard* of *Normandy* escapes from *Lewis*.

945. *Aigrold* aids the *Normans*; *Lewis* is taken prisoner.

946. League of *Lewis* and *Otho I.* against *Hugh the Great*.
Rheims retaken.

948. Council of *Ingelheim*.

950. *Lewis* and *Hugh the Great* reconciled.

954. Death of *Lewis IV.*

LEWIS IV. (d'Outremer)¹, at the age of sixteen, was now called out of England and raised to the throne, June

⁹ By a treaty at *Langres*, (A.D. 938), the duchy of *Burgundy* was equally divided between the three claimants, each of whom had the title of duke. But in the year 943, *Hugh* obtained the cession of most of the two other shares, and got a grant of the duchy from *Lewis IV.* See also p. 282, note 2.

¹ That is, "From beyond the Sea." He is called by some authors the *Transmarine*, and the *Stranger*.

936, by Hugh the Great ; who saw that the feeling of the people was still strong in favour of hereditary right and the lineage of Charlemagne². He was brave and active, and not without genius ; but he was ever cramped for want of means in his spirited endeavours to recover for his crown something of its old authority and splendour. Thus he was unhappily led to stoop to cunning and falsehood, the short-sighted policy of the weak.

After the retreat of the Hungarians, who had again troubled France and Burgundy ; Lewis reduced some of the castles near Laon, and slightly increased his scanty power. During the year 939, the nobles of Lorraine who were at war with Otho the Great, their German sovereign, offered him their homage ; and he marched into Alsatia, which submitted to his rule. He speedily lost the footing which he had gained ; for at home, his own vassals, Hugh the Great, *William Longsword*, duke of *Normandy*, and the count of *Vermandais*, had leagued against him and transferred their allegiance to Otho. In the struggle which followed, his chief adherent, *Artald*, the count-archbishop of *Rheims*³, was driven from his see (A.D. 940), and the count of *Vermandais*' son re-instated ; he himself had to flee for refuge to Hugh the Black in *Franche-Comté*, while Otho entered France and was proclaimed king by

² Especially in the South of France, where the civilized population, which had been ever hostile to its savage Merovingian conquerors, was much attached to the family of Charlemagne.—South of the Loire, the *Langue d'oc* (afterwards called Provençal) was spoken, and not the *Langue d'oïl* or *oui* of the North, whence the modern French has been formed ; and there has always been a marked difference of customs and manners between the northern Frenchman and the more wily but industrious natives of Languedoc and Provence.

³ Artald (Artaud) was raised to the archiepiscopal throne, at the end of Rodolf's reign, when Hugh of *Vermandais* was first ousted. Lewis IV. had just rewarded his services by annexing the *county* of *Rheims* to the archbishopric.

the disaffected; and when, after making a truce with that monarch, he at length strove to save Laon, which Hugh the Great and count Herbert were besieging, he and his troops were surprised and put to flight by the rebels, at Château Porcien on the Aisne. Lewis then withdrew into the South of France, where he had the support of his cousin⁴, the count of *Vienne*, and of *William* count of *Poitiers*; and, owing to the moderation of Otho, he was afterwards reconciled with his vassals, A.D. 942⁵.

Not many months after this peace, William Longsword was slain at a conference by the myrmidons of his enemy *Arnulf* count of *Flanders*, Dec. 942; and as he only left a son by a concubine,—*Richard I.*, a boy hardly ten years old,—Lewis hoped to recover Normandy. He was allowed by the Normans to have the guardianship of the young duke, (though not before he had confirmed his title,) and to take him away to Laon to be educated⁶; having succeeded thus far in his design, his next step was to make a treaty with Hugh the Great to conquer and divide the duchy. But he had to deal with a people who in boldness and cunning were not to be surpassed. In the course of the year 944, they discomfited the chieftains of Brittany who had

⁴ Charles Constantine, son of Lewis the Blind, king of Provence, and Elgiva, a sister of Athelstan. See p. 268, note 2.

⁵ When Gislebert duke of Lorrain had been drowned in the Rhine, after his defeat at Andernach (A.D. 939), Lewis had married his widow Gerberga, the sister of Otho the Great and of *Hedwiga*, the wife of Hugh the Great. This alliance now proved highly useful to him.

⁶ About this time (A.D. 943), the count of Vermandais died. Lewis also tried to increase his territory at the expense of his sons; but Hugh the Great took their part, and an appeal was made to Otho the Great. One of Hugh's envoys now produced a paper of instructions, which he had once received from Lewis when in his service, in which Otho was railed at as a perjurer; and the enraged Otho renounced the alliance of the double-dealing king.

attacked them in their distress ; Richard moreover escaped, being carried off in a bundle of forage, at night-fall, by *Osmond*, his governor, who had taught him to disarm the watchfulness of his keepers by feigning himself dying ; and when Lewis and his ally invaded Normandy, *Bernard the Dane*, count of *Rouen*, the crafty regent, sowed dissension between them. The king, believing that he had secured the adherence of the Normans, was unwilling to share the spoil with Hugh the Great ; so he ordered him to fall back when he was about to besiege Bayeux, a command which the other indignantly obeyed. Now that Lewis was left alone, *Aigrold* (*Harold Blaatand*), the king of Denmark, whom Bernard had been expecting all the while, arrived with his fleet, A.D. 945 :—he had been harboured when a homeless outcast by the late duke, just before his death, and had regained his throne by his friendly aid.

The kings of France and Denmark met in seeming friendship at a ford on the Dive which has ever since borne the name of *Herluin*⁷ ; for there the death of that noble, by the spear of a fierce Pagan Dane, began an affray in which eighteen French counts and their followers were massacred, while Lewis had to flee for his life. Although he then got safe into Rouen, Bernard and the Normans openly turned against him, and threw him into prison ; nor would they release him until *Carloman*, his second son, was given as a hostage that their duke should be re-instated in all his rights⁸.

Yet Lewis, when released, did not recover his freedom. The Normans had delivered him into the hands of Hugh the Great ; who (at the queen's entreaty) had acted as his

⁷ *Le Gué d'Herluin*. When Herluin, who was count of Montreuil, was observed at the conference, he was reviled as having been the cause of William Longsword's death, the late duke having been drawn into his quarrel with the count of Flanders by protecting him.

⁸ Carloman died at Rouen a few months afterwards.

friend, but had now the meanness to keep him confined till he agreed to yield up Laon, his only fortress. Lewis when at last he made this sacrifice, in the year 946, would have come out a ruined man, had not his wife induced her brother Otho of Germany to come to his aid : the two kings found Laon too strong to be attacked, but retook Rheims and restored Artald to his see ; so that Lewis had at least a home. A petty warfare was then carried on by the king of France, Arnulf count of Flanders, and Otho's Lorrainers, against Hugh the Great and the duke of Normandy, his staunch ally ; and at the council of Ingelheim, where Lewis himself was present, June 948, Artald was declared to be the archbishop of Rheims, and Hugh the Great was threatened with excommunication for rebellion. Hugh was actually excommunicated at a council which met, in September, at Treves ; but he despised the thunders of the Church, and held out against Lewis, who surprised Laon and daily displayed fresh proofs of talent and courage. Yet so small were the king's means, that he could not even dislodge some soldiers who still defended the great tower at Laon against him ; and thus he was glad, by the mediation of Otho, to conclude an honourable peace with his vassals, A.D. 950⁹.

About four years afterwards, as he was chasing a wolf that had crossed his path on the way from Laon to Rheims, Lewis was thrown to the ground by his unsteady

⁹ It was soon after this, A.D. 951, that Lewis visited Aquitaine, and granted to his adherent William Tête d'Etoupe, count of Poitiers, the duchy of Aquitaine, which had last belonged to Raymond Pontius, count of Thoulouse, lately deceased. As Raymond's children were minors, the count of Poitiers easily deprived them of that part of their inheritance. See also p. 267, note 9.

That same year, Edgiva, Lewis' mother, eloped from Laon (where she had the abbey of St. Médard) to marry a young husband, *Herbert*, subsequently count of *Troyes*, one of the sons of her family's old enemy, Herbert II. of Vermandais.

horse, which fell backwards and crushed him. He lingered a while, and died at Rheims, in the flower of his age, Sept. 954, at a time when France and Europe were threatened with ruin by the Hungarians. That danger was dispelled by the decisive victory won by Otho the Great on the Lech.

A. D. 954. Lothaire.

955. Hugh the Great attacks the count of Poitiers (dies A.D. 956).

962, 963. The war with Richard I. of Normandy.

978. War of Lothaire with Otho II. (ends A.D. 980).

984. Lothaire takes Verdun.

986. Death of Lothaire.

LOTHAIRE¹, the eldest son of Lewis d'Outremer, was crowned at Rheims in November. He was not more than thirteen; but his interests were well looked after by his mother *Gerberga*, whose brother *St. Bruno*, archbishop of *Cologne*, now governed the old kingdom of Lorraine with the title of duke, and was both able and willing to befriend her. She had gained over Hugh the Great, whose ambition, for the present, was satisfied with the grant of the duchy of Aquitaine.

Aquitaine had already been granted by the late king to William count of Poitiers, and it had to be wrested from his grasp. Hugh the Great, accompanied by Lothaire, went and laid siege to Poitiers, Aug. 955: they were baffled by the strength of its walls, but afterwards cut to pieces the army of the count when he endeavoured to harass their retreat. This was the last victory ever won by Hugh the Great. He died the next year, June 956, leaving three sons by his third wife. *Otho* (who seems to have been the eldest) was already in possession of the duchy of Bur-

¹ Lothaire is only a softened form of the old name Clothaire.

gundy²; *Hugh*, surnamed *Capet*³, became count of Paris and duke of France; and *Henry*, by some called *Eudes*, afterwards succeeded Otho as duke of Burgundy, in the year 965. The grant of Aquitaine was renewed in favour of Hugh Capet; but the count of Poitiers would pay no heed to it, and henceforth, for two hundred years, hardly a trace of the royal authority is to be met with in the provinces south of the Loire.

Between Hugh Capet, who was not much more than ten years old when his father died, and Lothaire, a good understanding was kept up by the influence of their mothers. The two sisters, when their sons were likely to be drawn into a war, in the year 959, by the quarrels of their vassals, once called in their brother St. Bruno; who marched into France with an army of Lorrainers, and settled all the feuds which had broken out. But though cramped on this side, the ambition of the restless and crafty Lothaire was ready to break out wherever there was an opening: it was turned towards Normandy by *Theobald the Trichard*, count of *Blois*⁴, a kinsman and old adherent of Hugh the

² His father had given up to him his acquisitions in Burgundy; and he had likewise the share of duke Gislebert, whose eldest daughter, *Luitgarda*, he had married.

³ CAPET (in Latin, *Capito*)—an appellation derived, either from the largeness of his head or from the Cape or Cope (*Capa*) which he wore as a lay abbot—was afterwards the surname of his descendants, the Capetian kings of France. Personal surnames were common in the tenth century, and led to the use of family names, a practice which became general about the end of the twelfth century.

⁴ THEOBALD *the Old*, or the *Trichard* (le Tricheur et le Fourbe), the count of Blois and Chartres, and the founder of a powerful house, was remarkable for his cunning, cruelty, and insidiousness. He was well connected, being the son of *Theobald* (a kinsman of Rollo, originally named *Gerlo*, who became count of *Chartres*, about the year 890) and of *Richilda*, the sister of king *Eudes* and aunt of Hugh the

Great, but of late the enemy of his widow and of duke Richard, the husband of her daughter *Emma*.

By the advice of the treacherous count, Lothaire, in the year 962, twice laid snares for the duke of Normandy. On the former of these occasions, Richard, who had been invited to a conference at Amiens ⁵, had a narrow escape, owing to the friendly warning given him by some sol-

Great : he was also married to *Luitgarda*, the widow of William Longsword duke of Normandy, and the daughter of Herbert II. count of Vermandais. Thus his grandson EUDES II., on the death of count *Stephen* (the son of Herbert of Vermandais, count of Troyes, and Queen Edgiva, see p. 280, note 9), claimed and got possession of the county of Champagne, A.D. 1019.

When Eudes II. was slain in battle, Champagne fell to the share of his eldest son, while the younger had the counties of Blois, Tours, and Chartres ; but these territories were twice re-united before they were finally divided, Jan. 1152, on the death of his grandson THEOBALD IV., *the Great*, of *Blois* (the brother of king *Stephen* of England), whose uncle, count HUGH, had ceded to him Champagne, and had ended his days in the Holy Land. Theobald's sons were HENRY I., *the Liberal*, count of *Champagne*, and THEOBALD V., *the Good*, count of *Blois*.

Henry the Liberal's grandson, THEOBALD IV. of Champagne (also styled the *Great* and the *Posthumous*), became king of Navarre in right of his mother Blanche, May 1234. The last of this branch of the family was Theobald's grand-daughter JANE, queen of France ; who was succeeded in Champagne and Navarre, April 1305, by her eldest son LEWIS, surnamed *Hutin*, afterwards Lewis X. of France. Champagne ever afterwards remained in the possession of the French kings.—The line of Theobald the Good ended (A.D. 1218) in his grandson THEOBALD VI. of Blois ; whose daughters were countesses of Blois and Chartres. *Hugh De Châtillon*, married the heiress of the countess of *Blois* (A.D. 1225), and his son inherited Chartres : their descendant, the fat and gluttonous spendthrift GUY II., sold the reversion of his dominions to LEWIS of France, duke of Orleans, who succeeded him in the year 1397. At length, the accession of the head of the house of Orleans as Lewis XII., April 1498, re-united the two counties to the French crown.

⁵ St. Bruno seems to have been implicated in this plot.

diers ; and the second time, when summoned to do homage at an assembly of French nobles on the Eaune, he came with an army, and though he found himself outnumbered, was able to make good his retreat. In the war which now followed, Theobald surprised Evreux ; but Richard the Fearless was more than a match for him in the open field, and retaliated upon his dominions the wrongs which he had sustained. Not content with his success, but eager to be beforehand with his foes, who might chance to get help from St. Bruno, or even from Otho himself, the newly crowned emperor of the West ; Richard brought matters to a crisis, the next year, by procuring a host of heathen Northmen from his old friend Aigrold, and leading them up the Seine into the heart of the enemy's country. The open fields, the villages, and even the towns and castles were every where laid waste ; not a watch-dog, it is said, was there left to bark in all the domains of count Theobald. He and the king were now so frightened that they begged hard for peace. It was granted by the Normans, who thus recovered Evreux.

After the death of Otho the Great, May 973, the troubles in Lorraine called forth the ambition of Lothaire's brother *Charles*, who had claims to some fiefs in his mother's right ⁶. He joined the two sons of *Rainier the Long-necked*, a count of *Hainault* who had been deprived and outlawed in the time of St. Bruno ⁷ ; and in a war of skirmishes he showed much skill and courage, though cruel and rapacious. In the year 977, *Otho II.*, the new emperor, who had to cope with more dangerous foes elsewhere, got rid of this struggle by making concessions to the rebels, and giving Charles the duchy of Lower Lorraine (Brabant).

⁶ *Charles had no apanage in France ; for so dwindled was the royal territory, that it could not bear any further division.*

⁷ St. Bruno had been dead eight years. He died at Rheims, Oct. 965.

This stroke of policy displeased Lothaire, who was jealous of his brother ⁸, and wanted to have Lorraine under his rule. With his usual treachery, he suddenly marched from Laon to Aix-la-Chapelle, June 978, and well nigh surprised Otho in his palace; a wrong which the latter avenged, in October, by entering France on the side of Laon with a host of 60,000 men, and plundering to the gates of Paris ⁹. When the Germans retreated, Lothaire consoled his pride by falling upon their rearguard; which, together with the baggage, had been cut off from the main body by the rising of the waters of the Aisne during the night. The next year (A.D. 980), he sought an interview with Otho, and agreed to the annexation of Lorraine to the German empire.

After this, we hear little more of Lothaire. The confusion which followed upon the death of Otho III., Dec. 983, emboldened him to seize Verdun; but the fear of a war with the Germans made him give up his prey. When he died, March 986, a report was spread that his wife *Emma* had poisoned him.

A. D. 986. Lewis V. (the Sluggard).

987. Death of Lewis V. *Hugh Capet becomes king of France.*

988. Charles of Lorraine seizes Laon and Rheims. Hugh Capet attacks the count of Poitiers.

990. Hugh Capet repulsed before Laon.

991. Charles of Lorraine betrayed by the bishop of Laon.

⁸ He was set against him by his queen, Emma, the daughter of Otho the Great's wife Adelaide, by her first husband Lothaire, king of Italy.

⁹ Hugh Capet, the count of Paris, had been connected with the rebels in Lorraine. To insult him, Otho sent him word from the neighbouring heights of Montmartre that he should hear a louder litany than ever he had yet heard; and forthwith made a number of priests and all his soldiers roar out in chorus, *Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus, Domine.*

LEWIS V., the *Sluggard* (le Fainéant), a young man remarkable only for stupidity, quietly succeeded his father, having already for some years been associated with him on the throne. His short reign is a perfect blank¹. He died childless, May 987, and the belief that his wife *Blanche* had poisoned him seems to be well grounded.

Charles of Lorraine, who had sadly misgoverned his duchy,—he thought of nothing but eating, drinking, and extorting money,—was now the rightful heir to the throne; but he was on bad terms with *Adalberon*, the archbishop of *Rheims*, and a powerful Church influence was arrayed against him. This smoothed the way for the elevation of *Hugh Capet*; who had the support of *Henry* duke of *Burgundy*, his brother, and of *Richard* duke of *Normandy*, his brother-in-law, and was chosen king at *Noyon* by the nobles of his party: for he was crowned at *Rheims* by *Adalberon*, July 3, 987, though most of the great feudatories had taken no part in the election². A new dynasty now began, which was destined to rule for many generations.

This revolution was not tamely submitted to by *Charles* of *Lorraine*. He surprised *Laon*, May 988, and caused

¹ From the mysterious letters of *Gerbert* (afterwards pope *Sylvester II.*), we may gather dark hints that some great change was on the eve of taking place. *Hugh Capet*, though he kept in the back ground, was probably intriguing to get the crown. *Emma*, the queen mother, was accused of adultery with *Adalberon* (a young and accomplished noble of *Lorraine* who had been made bishop of *Laon*), and separated from her son. *Adalberon* was also driven from his see. *Lewis'* wife *Blanche*, who had returned to his house after having forsaken him, may have been in the interest of her husband's enemies, and thus have been led to poison him.

² So decided was the refusal of *William Fierabras* (*Fera-bracia*), count of *Poitiers*, and duke of *Aquitaine*, to acknowledge his title, that *Hugh Capet* went and besieged *Poitiers*. But he utterly failed in his attacks, and was driven back to the *Loire*, where he turned round and won a battle by which he secured his retreat.

himself to be proclaimed king ; Rheims also was betrayed to his troops, with the connivance of his nephew *Arnulf*³, the new archbishop in the room of Adalberon who had lately died. Two full years elapsed before he was attacked by Hugh Capet, who besieged him in Laon. The siege did not last many weeks. Charles sallied out, burnt his enemy's camp, and put him to flight.

What he could not do by force, Hugh compassed by treachery. *Ascelin*, or *Adalberon*, the bishop of *Laon*⁴, having been secretly gained over to his party, seized and delivered up to him Charles and his wife *Agnes*, and archbishop Arnulf: the traitor had entered the house of his master with a number of armed men, in the afternoon of Maundy Thursday, April 2, 991, and had taken him in his bed, where he was sleeping after dinner. The unhappy Charles of Lorraine died in prison at Orleans, the next year. His duchy of Brabant was inherited by Otho, his son by a former wife ; who died childless, in the year 1006, being the last Carovingian prince who had any shadow of power⁵.

Arnulf was deposed at a council which met at the convent of Saint Basle, near Rheims, June 991, and the learned and scientific *Gerbert*⁶ was chosen to be archbishop in his stead. Four years afterwards, these proceedings were an-

³ This Arnulf was the illegitimate son of king Lothaire. He had engaged to forfeit his see, if he were not faithful to Hugh Capet.

⁴ He was looked upon with dislike, and had been imprisoned by Charles, on account of his suspected intrigue with the queen-mother.

⁵ Agnes, while in prison, bore Charles of Lorraine the twins *Charles* and *Lewis*, who eventually found a refuge in Germany. The posterity of Lewis is said to have only become extinct in the year 1248.

⁶ Gerbert (who was a native of Auvergne), though a monk, had studied in Cordova under the Arabs, and was such a proficient in science that he was held to be a sorcerer. He had acted as secretary to several princes and prelates ; had been tutor to the emperor Otho III. ; and having forsaken the Carovingian interest, had been entrusted with the education of Hugh Capet's son Robert.

nulled in councils held under papal influence; yet though Gerbert was obliged to give up his see, Arnulf was not released from prison while Hugh Capet lived. As for Gerbert, the champion of the party which had upheld the freedom of the Gallican Church against the interference of Rome (whose abuses had been unsparingly denounced, at Rheims, by the bishop of *Orleans*), his fortunes were not blighted by this reverse. Having found a patron in the emperor Otho III., his former pupil, he became archbishop of Ravenna, in the year 998; and at the end of a few more months, he was enthroned⁷, under the title of Sylvester II., as the successor of *John XV.*, the very pope who had caused his deprivation.

SECTION VII.

ITALY, FROM THE TIME OF THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT UNTIL THE EXTINCTION OF THE GIBELIN DYNASTY.

UPPER ITALY.

- A. D. 888. Berenger I. (duke of Friuli) crowned king of Italy.
- 889. Battle of the Trebbia. Guy (duke of Spoleto) crowned king.
- 891. Guy of Spoleto crowned emperor.
- 894. Lambert (crowned A.D. 892) succeeds Guy.
- 896. Arnulf takes Rome, and is crowned emperor.
- 898. Death of Lambert.
- 899. Death of Arnulf. Berenger is defeated by the Hungarians.
- 901. Lewis III., of Provence, crowned emperor.
- 905. Lewis of Provence is blinded by Berenger.
- 906. The Hungarians overrun Italy.
- 915. Berenger I. crowned as emperor.

⁷ April 999.—He was the first Frenchman who was made a pope.

- A. D. 921. Rodolf of Burgundy is crowned king at Pavia.
 923. Berenger is defeated by Rodolf.
 924. Berenger is murdered. The Hungarians sack Pavia.
 926. Rodolf of Burgundy withdraws from Italy.

After the fall of Charles the Fat, when the empire of the West was rent in pieces by rival princes, Upper Italy, which was divided into several powerful fiefs⁸, separated itself from France and Germany. BERENGER (or Berengarius) I. —a duke or marquis of *Friuli*, whose father *Eberard* had married *Gisela*, the daughter of Lewis the Debonair by his second wife Judith—was chosen king, at Pavia, by a number of nobles, Feb. 888; and in the following month, the iron crown of Lombardy was placed upon his head by the archbishop of *Milan*⁹. When the tidings reached Arnulf, the new king of Germany, he set out on his march for Italy; but Berenger went to meet him at Trent, and by doing homage got himself confirmed in his kingdom. Even then his position was not safe. For whoever sat on the throne of Italy had to fight against rival claimants set up by his own subjects; and the confusion and sufferings of the times were heightened by the dreadful inroads of the Hungarians, and by the forays and incursions of Saracen freebooters¹.

⁸ The chief of these were the duchies, or marquisates, of Spoleto, Tuscany, Ivrea, and Friuli. In the south, the great duchy of Benevento had been encroached upon by the Greeks of Apulia, and the principalities of Salerno and Capua had likewise been severed, just before the middle of the ninth century.

⁹ Muratori thinks that this was really the first time that this famous crown was used. Though made of gold, it derives its well known name from some slender fillets of iron pretended to be formed from one of the nails used in the crucifixion.

¹ These ruffians, who had emigrated from Africa, were not only the scourges of southern Italy, but, having established themselves at Frassineto, near Nice, infested Provence and Piedmont. Both the Hungarians and Saracens had the same system. Their troops of
2nd Ser.

Berenger's earliest foe was *Guy* duke of *Spoletto*², who, though beaten in his first campaign at *Brescia*, defeated him on the banks of the *Trebbia*; was proclaimed king at a diet of nobles at *Pavia*; and two years afterwards, entered *Rome*, and was crowned emperor by pope *Stephen V.*, Feb. 891. On the death of *Guy* (about the end of the year 894), his son *Lambert*, whom he had taken to be his colleague, reigned under the guardianship of his widow *Agiltruda*. *Arnulf* likewise interfered in *Italy*; being called thither by Berenger himself, and by pope *Formosus*, who had once sided with the *Spoletto* faction. His first expedition was undertaken, when *Guy* was still living: by hanging the governor of *Bergamo* for attempting to hold the town against him, Jan. 894, he struck such terror into the *Lombards* that they promised every where to submit to his will. Things being still unsettled, he again crossed the *Alps*, Sept. 895; but as he was stopping at *Lucca*, his men having been knocked up by marching in bad weather, he found that he could not depend upon Berenger, who had learned to look upon him with dread, and he even put him for awhile under arrest. Feeling that if he wavered, all would be lost, he had the boldness to advance straight to *Rome*, though the season was so bitter that most of his horses died of cold. The high-spirited *Agiltruda* was in the city, and it was well-prepared for defence; yet in a moment of panic, *Arnulf's* wearied troops, fired with a sudden impulse of zeal, scaled the walls and rushed in. he was crowned by *Formosus*³, Feb. 896, and the people

light cavalry spread over the country, not to conquer, but to plunder it: they therefore spared nothing, but spoiled what they could not carry off or consume.

² See p. 267, note 8. His father *Guy*, the first duke of *Spoletto*, A.D. 838, was a Frank, or at least of Frankish origin, and is conjectured to have married a daughter of the emperor *Lothaire*.

³ *Formosus*, who had been bishop of *Porto*, and was the first in

swore fealty to him as emperor. But when he went in pursuit of Agiltruda and Lambert, who had fled to Spoleto, the state of his health, which was fast breaking, forced him to return home ; and in the mean time, Berenger and Lambert met at Pavia, and agreed to a partition of the kingdom of Italy. It was soon reunited. Lambert died childless, Oct. 898, having been thrown from his horse when hunting in the forest of Marengo : he had just distinguished himself by surprising the army of *Adelbert II.*, the powerful duke of *Tuscany*, and taking him prisoner⁴.

The next year, the Hungarians made their first appearance in Italy. They fell back behind the Brenta at the approach of Berenger, who had gathered together an imposing feudal array ; but when he rashly drove them to a battle, they fought with all the courage of despair, and cut his host to pieces, Oct. 899. Thus was the whole country laid open to their ravages. Moreover, some discontented nobles, among whom was *Adelbert II.*, marquis of *Ivrea*,

stance, of a pope translated from another see, died that year, and was succeeded by Boniface VI., who did not live a fortnight after his election. Stephen VI., a pope now raised by the opposite faction, began his short reign (which ended in his being strangled in prison) by holding a council in which his two deceased predecessors were degraded : Boniface, because he had been already twice degraded, when a sub-deacon and a priest ; and Formosus, because he had left his see at Porto to usurp that of Rome. The dead body of Formosus having been dug up, he was regularly tried and sentenced : the corpse was then stripped of its habits, and three of its fingers being cut off, it was beheaded and thrown into the Tiber. This ghastly condemnation of Formosus was annulled, about two years afterwards, by councils held at Rome and Ravenna.

⁴ *Adelbert II., the Rich, was the son of Adelbert I., marquis-duke of Tuscany, and of Rothilda, Guy of Spoleto's sister. He married Bertha of Lorraine, daughter of Waldrada and widow of Theobald count of Arles, by whom he had two sons, Guy and Lambert, and Hermengarda (the second wife of Adelbert II., marquis of Ivrea).*

Berenger's own son-in-law ⁵, having offered their allegiance to *Lewis* king of Provence; that prince was encouraged by these disasters to put forth claims which he had shrunk from asserting, and he was enthroned at Pavia by the rebels, Oct. 900. *Lewis* III., as he styled himself, also went to Rome, and received the imperial crown from the Pope, Feb. 901; yet he had to withdraw from Italy, about a twelvemonth afterwards, and Berenger, who had been brought to the brink of ruin, rapidly recovered every thing that he lost. Although he had sworn never to return, *Lewis*, towards the fall of the year 904, again tried his chance. In the outset of his expedition, he was most successful; even Verona, which was ever faithful to Berenger, was yielded up to him. But Berenger lulled him into false security by spreading a report of his own death; and being let in with his troops one morning, at daybreak, into Verona by its bishop, he seized him and put out his eyes as a punishment for his perjury, July 905. Either in pity or in scorn, the helpless usurper was then set free.

A fresh inroad of the Hungarians, about a twelvemonth afterwards, wrung from Berenger the payment of a tribute. Yet during the sixteen years in which he now reigned without a rival, this brave, generous, and able prince, who in his turn became emperor ⁶ (Dec. 915), re-established law and order in his dominions, and even revived the military spirit of his people: he won all hearts but those of his selfish nobles, whom no kindnesses could make loyal. At

⁵ Adelbert's first wife was *Gisela*, Berenger's daughter. Her mother *Bertilla* was poisoned on account of shameless profligacy some years afterwards.

⁶ The kings of Italy who, at this period, were crowned emperors, were *GUY*, Feb. 891; *LAMBERT*, Feb. 892; *LEWIS* III., Feb. 901; and *BERENGER*, Dec. 915. After the death of Berenger, the imperial title fell into abeyance.

length, either in the year 921 or 922, the restless Adelbert of Ivrea, *Guy*, marquis of *Tuscany*⁷, the archbishop of *Milan*, and a certain count *Gilbert*⁸, sent to *Rodolf II.*, the king of Transjurane Burgundy; who forthwith came down into Italy with an army, and was crowned by them at *Pavia*. The pretender was well-nigh overpowered in his first battle; but at a later stage of the contest, Berenger, when victorious at *Firenzuola*, July 923, had the mortification of seeing his tired soldiers attacked and routed by *Ubal*d, an Italian chieftain who had married Rodolf's sister; and only saved his life by lying on his face among the slain, covered by his shield⁹. In the night, he got up and escaped to *Verona*, whence he called upon the Hungarians to avenge him: they swarmed in, before the end of the next winter, through the defiles of *Friuli*; sacked *Pavia*, leaving not so much as two hundred souls alive; and spread themselves like fire and flame over *Lombardy*. About the time of the burning of *Pavia*, March 924, Berenger was stabbed to death at *Verona* by a wretch whom he had often loaded with favours¹.

RODOLF did not reign very long in Italy. *Hermengarda*, the marchioness of *Ivrea* (*Guy* of *Tuscany*'s sister), while she fascinated him with her charms, embroiled him with his nobles, being bent on raising her half-brother *Hugh*, count of *Provence*, to the throne. When the plot was ripe, *Milan*

⁷ He had succeeded his father Adelbert, about the year 917.

⁸ This man fell into the hands of some Hungarians in Berenger's pay, and was dragged before him in his shirt, covered with mud and blood. Berenger let him go free, exacting his word only, a pledge which was instantly broken.

⁹ A soldier pricked his leg with a lance, to see if he were alive; but he had the firmness not to move.

¹ The kind-hearted emperor had detected and forgiven the treasonable designs of this Veronese noble, who stabbed him while embracing him.

revolted : Hugh landed at Pisa, June 926 ; and Rodolf, who had no friends, fled away into his own country without fighting.

A. D. 926. Hugh, king of Italy.

932. Hugh marries Marozia. Rome revolts against him.

934. Defeat of Arnulf the Bad, duke of Bavaria.

936. Rome again besieged. Hugh seizes Tuscany.

944. The Hungarians invade Italy.

945. Berenger returns from exile. Abdication of Hugh Lothaire, king of Italy.

950. Death of Lothaire.

HUGH, the son of *Bertha*², was a lustful tyrant. A very fox for cunning, he kept down and crushed his haughty nobles ; sparing neither his kinsmen who had raised him to the throne, nor even his own creatures, when they had become rich and powerful enough to awaken his jealousy or his covetousness. He would arbitrarily resume fiefs : he deposed bishops, and gave their sees to countrymen of his who were wholly dependent on his will ; he enriched himself by the sale of benefices : and with the best lands and dignities of the Church, he rewarded his mistresses, and provided for his bastard children.

His uterine brother Guy of Tuscany having died, Hugh, in the year 932, incestuously became the third husband of his widow, the detestable *Marozia*, who was then mistress of Rome ; and but a few days after his marriage, he was driven out of that city by a revolt of the inhabitants, which was stirred up by his wife's son *Alberic*, whom he had wantonly struck when at table³. Twice did he afterwards lead an army against Rome ; but he was never allowed again to enter within its walls, not even when he made

² See p. 291, note 4. His father was Theobald count of Arles.

³ Alberic in presenting the water-jug, had chanced to spill the beer on his step-father's hands.

peace with Alberic, and bestowed upon him the hand of his daughter *Ada*.

It was not in the nature of the Italians to sit quiet under so despotic a rule. When Rodolf had been invited back in vain,—Hugh got him to yield up his claims in Italy (A.D. 933) by ceding most of Provence,—they betook themselves to *Arnulf the Bad*, duke of *Bavaria*; who, in the year 934, marched fast enough into Lombardy, but was beaten near Verona, and sent home again across the Alps. Their patience was sorely tried, when Hugh successively established his bastard son *Hubert* (Humbert) in the great duchies of Tuscany and Spoleto, both of which he had twice iniquitously seized⁴; and when their future hope, young *Berenger*, marquis of *Ivrea* (the namesake, and, on his mother's side, the grandson of the late emperor)⁵, was driven by his treacherous cruelty to seek a refuge at the court of Otho the Great of Germany (A.D. 940). The Hungarians also renewed their incursions, in the year 944, although a large sum of money had been paid to buy them off. In the following year, there was a complete break up. Berenger returned to Italy, at the head of a resolute band of exiles which quickly swelled into a large army; Hugh,

⁴ Hugh, after spreading a report that the children of Bertha's second marriage were supposititious, had treacherously seized his half-brother Lambert, and put out his eyes, A.D. 931; and he had given his duchy of *Tuscany* to his own brother *Boso*, whom he also robbed and deposed, in the year 936. His half-nephew *Anscar* (Hermengarda of *Ivrea's* son), to whom, about a twelvemonth before, he had granted the duchy of *Spoleto*, was attacked by his creature *Sarlion* and slain, A.D. 940. *Sarlion* got the duchy as a reward for his victory; but was stripped of it, in the year 943, and allowed to withdraw into a monastery.

⁵ Berenger, Gisela's son, was the step-son of Hugh's benefactress Hermengarda, and had married his niece *Willa*, the daughter of *Boso* of Tuscany; yet the tyrant had designed to seize him and his wife (who was then with child), and to put out his eyes.

unable to withstand the torrent, was deposed by a diet which met at Milan; and *Lothaire*, the tyrant's son⁶, was chosen king, the real power being placed in the hands of Berenger by the jealous policy of the nobles. Hugh, after a while, withdrew, May 946, with his ill-gotten treasures, into Provence, where his schemes for recovering his authority were cut short by his death, April 947.

LOTHAIRE, though almost powerless, was dreaded by Berenger; who saw that he was not hated like his father, and that his bride *St. Adelaide*⁷, the daughter of Rodolf II., was universally beloved. When therefore he died, Nov. 950, it was thought that Berenger had poisoned him.

A. D. 950. Berenger II. and Adelbert.

951. Escape of Adelaide; Otho proclaimed king of Italy.

952. Berenger II. becomes Otho's vassal.

956. Ludolf overpowers Adelbert and Berenger.

957. Death of Ludolf; Berenger recovers his dominions.

961. Berenger and his son deposed by Otho.

962. (*Otho the Great*) crowned emperor.

964. Berenger surrenders at St. Leo (dies 966).

BERENGER II. and his son ADELBERT were raised to the throne, Dec. 950, three weeks after the death of Lothaire. The widowed Adelaide was harshly dealt with, and even shut up in a castle on lake Garda, April 951, because she did not choose to marry Adelbert: a priest enabled her to escape, in August, to the castle of Canossa (which belonged to the marquis *Obert*⁸), whence she sent to Otho the Great, beseeching him to be her deliverer.

⁶ His father had caused him to be crowned as his colleague, May 931.

⁷ Her mother, *Bertha* of *Scabia*, Rodolf's widow, was the third wife of Hugh, Lothaire's father.

⁸ Obert I. (or Alberto Azzo), who succeeded his father *Adelbert* as marquis of *Italy* and count of the Palace. The house of *Este* is descended from them.

Otho came down with an irresistible host, and was crowned king of the Lombards, Oct. 951, at Pavia, where he also married Adelaide at Christmas-tide; and the next year, Berenger and his son submitted to become his vassals, and did homage for their kingdom, at Augsburg. They had to give up the march of Treviso, one of the keys of Italy, to their new liege lord, who entrusted it to the keeping of his brother *Henry*.

Hardly was Berenger restored, than he began to wreak his spite on the adherents of Adelaide. The marquis Obert was besieged three years at Canossa, Otho being too much engaged in Germany to attend to Italy; but at last, in the year 956, that king's eldest son *Ludolf* marched to his relief, at whose approach Berenger fled into a fortress, while Adelbert boldly risked a battle and was taken prisoner. Not many days afterwards, Berenger was brought into the enemy's camp by his own soldiers. The two princes had to forfeit their dominions for their misdeeds: they were, however, set at liberty, and after the death of *Ludolf*, Sept. 957, they managed to recover all that they had lately lost. Their tyranny was now worse than ever. The complaints of their vassals, and the cry of pope *John XII.*⁹ for aid, reached the ears of Otho and again brought him into Italy: Berenger fled before him, and was solemnly deposed, together with his son, by a diet at Pavia, Oct. 961. The next month, Otho was crowned a second time, at Milan; and when Christmas was over, he went on to Rome to receive the imperial dignity, the revival of which had been promised him by the Pope as the reward for his help. He was then crowned with Adelaide,—the first

⁹ *Octavian*, the son of Alberic, whom he had succeeded as Patrician (A.D. 954). He seized upon the popedom, June 956, when only eighteen, and styled himself John XII., being the first pope who changed his name on his accession.

woman so honoured,—Feb. 2, 962, and the Pope and the Romans swore allegiance to him¹.

Berenger, after his fall, still held out in the castle of St. Leo, in Montefeltro; where, at the end of a long siege, he was taken with his wife and daughters, in the year 964, and doomed to imprisonment for life at Bamberg. There he died, two years afterwards. Nor was Adelbert more ready to kiss the rod. When his attempts to recover Italy were baffled; when his father had yielded himself up, and his brother *Guy* had fallen in battle against Otho (A.D. 965); he kept out of the reach of his enemies by roving as a pirate over the Mediterranean sea with *Conon*, the youngest of Berenger's sons. He died at Autun², about the year 968, and Conon sought a home and a refuge in the court of the emperor of Constantinople.

A.D. 963. Otho I. deposes John XII.

1002. Death of Otho III.; Arduin, marquis of Ivrea, crowned.

1004. Henry of Bavaria crowned at Pavia.

1015. Death of Arduin.

1024. Death of Henry of Bavaria.

1026. Conrad the Salic crowned.

1037. Diet of Roncaglia.

The year after Otho had been crowned, he found himself obliged to depose the faithless John XII., who had leagued himself with Adelbert. Indeed the Romans never took kindly to the German rule; so that Otho and his succes-

¹ Otho was crowned as emperor of the Romans and Augustus. He then confirmed the donations made by Pepin and Charlemagne, "saving in all things our authority, and that of our son and descendant."

² Adelbert had a son *Otho William*, who on his mother's side was descended from duke Gislebert of Burgundy (see p. 276). He became count of *Burgundy*, about the year 995.

sors had often to put down their fierce outbreaks and to inflict severe chastisement on their insolence. It was the policy of these Saxon emperors to weaken the great Italian fiefs, by detaching a number of districts and assigning them to inferior marquises and rural counts: being generally absent, and having no large standing armies, it was only by dividing their subjects that they could keep them under. They also gave many fiefs and bishoprics to Germans³. Thus Italy lost her independence, and learned to submit herself to a foreign yoke.

When indeed the Saxon dynasty had failed, on the death of OTHO III., and a civil war was on the eve of breaking out in Germany; ARDUIN marquis of *Ivrea* was chosen king of Lombardy, in a diet at Pavia, Feb. 1002. But the jealousy of Milan and its archbishop⁴, and the disgust which Arduin's haughtiness had given to his countrymen, eventually enabled the German party to convene a diet at Roncaglia, in which HENRY II. (of *Bavaria*), now king of Germany, was called to the throne. Henry marched forthwith at the summons, and, without meeting a foe, made his entry into Pavia, where he was crowned, May 1004; but a quarrel having arisen, during the festivity, between some of his drunken soldiers and the citizens, he was beset in his palace, and his troops rushed into the town and burnt it to the ground. This outrage was not forgotten by the people of Pavia, when they rebuilt their walls: they warmly espoused the cause of Arduin against the Milanese; and the chief Lombard cities were arrayed against each other in behalf of rival sovereigns, neither of whom they would

³ These strangers, being looked upon with dislike and suspicion, retired into strong castles, and had less influence in the towns and over their vassals than the old native lords.

⁴ Milan was jealous of Pavia, both cities claiming to be the capital of Lombardy. The archbishop happened also to be absent on an embassy to Constantinople when Arduin was elected.

now admit within their gates with their followers. In the year 1015, Arduin, being attacked by an illness which brought him to his grave, laid down the ensigns of an empty honour, and withdrew into a monastery to die; and on the death of Henry, July 1024, the crown of Italy, such as it was, became vacant. It was offered to *Robert*, king of France, and to *William the Great*, duke of *Aquitaine*; and when these had refused it, *Eribert*, the archbishop of *Milan*, and other leading men hastened to make their peace with *CONRAD the Salic*⁵, the new king of Germany, by going to Constance and placing it at his feet. From henceforth, whoever was elected king by the Germans, reigned over Italy as well; but until the beginning of the fifteenth century⁶, he could not take the title of Roman emperor before he was crowned by the Pope, being only styled king of the Romans.

It was in the reign of Conrad that the feudal law of Italy was settled by the constitutions of the diet at Roncaglia (A.D. 1037), previous to which the smaller vassals were at the mercy of their lords. It was enacted that no vassal should be deprived of his fief but for felony, and by the judgment of his peers; and that all benefices should be hereditary in the male line.

A. D. 1074—1122. Contests respecting Ecclesiastical Investitures.

1158. The diet of Roncaglia.

1162. Frederic Barbarossa burns Milan.

1167. The Lombard League against Frederic Barbarossa.

1183. Peace of Constance.

1197. *Death of the Emperor Henry VI.* The Tuscan League.

⁵ Henry II. and Conrad II. of Germany, as kings of Italy were Henry I. and Conrad I.

⁶ In the year 1508, the Pope allowed Maximilian I., who had never been crowned, to call himself emperor-elect. When Ferdinand I. was recognized by the electors, March 1558, it was decided that the Pope's confirmation and the coronation at Rome were not requisite.

- A. D. 1226. The Lombard League revived.
 1233. Fra Giovanni di Vicenza.
 1236. War between Frederic II. and the Gulf cities.
 1250. Death of Frederic II.

The rule of emperors who lived chiefly in Germany, and the state of confusion which had prevailed when the succession was disputed, had tended to develop the growth of municipal institutions in the Lombard cities: they chose their own magistrates; had common councils; and with their strong walls⁷ and trained bands, could set either count or emperor at defiance⁸. During the fierce contests which afterwards arose between the popes and the emperors for the right of conferring ecclesiastical investiture, the towns subjected almost all the rural nobles⁹, and recovered the territory once held by their own counts or bishops, which had been dismembered by the jealousy of the German sovereigns. Thus they became powerful commonwealths, nearly independent of the Empire. They would even wage war against each other; and one of the larger cities would often bring its weaker neighbour under its yoke.

But the imperial authority was revived by *FREDERIC Barbarossa*; who subsequently attempted, but fruitlessly, by opposing the election of *Alexander III.*, to place the

⁷ The right of having fortifications, and the practice moreover for standing sieges, they had acquired during the Hungarian invasions of the tenth century.

⁸ The Emperor had only jurisdiction when present; and such was the jealousy of the towns, that they would sometimes build his palace without the gates. He was entitled, when he visited them, to *foderum* (a supply of provisions, or a money equivalent); *parata* (a contribution for the repair of the roads and bridges through which he had to travel); and *mansionaticum* (lodgings and quarters for himself, his courtiers, and his soldiers).

⁹ They obliged them to live within their walls a certain number of months in the year, converting them into patrician citizens.

papacy likewise under his controul. Under pretence of avenging the wrongs of Lodi, he humbled Milan, forcing it by hunger to yield, Sept. 1158; and at the diet of Roncaglia, the following Martinmas, with the aid of the lawyers, he so defined the Regalian Rights, that the privileges of coining money and levying tolls and dues could only be exercised on sufferance by the lords and cities¹: it was added, that not only lands, but persons, had to pay tax. In the same diet, it was ruled that consuls and judges were to be appointed by the Emperor, though not without the consent of the people; and that feuds and private wars were no longer to be allowed. Frederic forthwith ventured upon a daring innovation. He delegated his high judicial authority to magistrates called *Podestats*², one of whom was stationed in each civil diocese; so that the local consuls and judges were cramped in the exercise of their functions by the rival jurisdiction of an unfriendly stranger. The next step was to do away with the old magistracies altogether, especially in the cities which had given most trouble. Milan, which had also been deprived of part of its territory, was thus goaded into a fresh revolt, and was again starved into unconditional submission: its inhabitants were driven from their homes, its walls and houses were laid low, and a few churches only were left, March 1162. All Lombardy now stood aghast with fear, and the Emperor's will was law. Yet two years had hardly elapsed,

¹ Among the Regalian Rights were the *foderum*, &c. (see p. 301, note 8), harbour dues, fisheries, mills, fairs, and markets, and the incidents and prerogatives of feudal sovereignty.

² Singularly enough, the office of Podestat (*Podestà*) was continued by the cities when they recovered their freedom. The Podestat was then a judge of appeal and commander of the army. He was always a stranger; held his power for a year, remaining to be impeached at the end of his period of office; and was not allowed to eat, drink, or be intimate with any of the citizens.

when his vindictive harshness, and the insolence and the exactions of his officials, had once more aroused the spirit of resistance to arbitrary power; and on both sides of the Adige, confederacies started up which at length were emboldened to unite in one grand Lombard League, it being agreed, April 1167, that for twenty years the cities were to uphold each other in opposing the late encroachments³. Milan was instantly rebuilt; many cities which had hitherto sided with the Emperor joined the confederates; Frederic was crippled by his contest with the Pope, and after meeting with several reverses, found himself unable to keep his ground against the resolute champions of Italian freedom. At the diet of Constance, June 1183, he consented that the Lombard cities should enjoy all the regalian rights which they had ever gained by usage or prescription; so that they became almost independent⁴.

During the troubles which followed after the death of the emperor HENRY VI., Sept. 1197, pope Innocent III., anxious to preserve the temporal power which he had consolidated, formed the Tuscan League, a union which was joined by all the cities of Tuscany, except Pisa. It was bound to defend all the rights and possessions of the Church; and not to acknowledge any one as king or emperor, who had not the approval of the pontiff. As he

³ The members of the League were pledged to withstand any one who should exact more from them than they had been wont to perform from the time of [the last!] Henry to the first coming of Frederic into Italy.

⁴ It was stipulated that they could levy war, build fortifications, and nominate their magistrates. These, however, were to receive investiture from the Emperor; who was authorized to appoint a judge of appeal for civil cases, and retained his right of *foderum* when resident.—The Lombard League was confirmed, and might be renewed; but the cities were to swear fealty to the Emperor every ten years.

supported OTHO IV., the Guelf⁵ candidate for the imperial crown, against the Ghibelin *Philip of Swabia*, the papal party in Italy came to be called GUELFs, and the imperial adherents Ghibelins⁶,—watchwords of a fierce contest by which the country was long rent asunder.

Innocent III. eventually quarrelled with Otho IV., just after he had crowned him at Rome (Sept. 1209), and befriended the young king of Sicily, though he was the head of the Swabian, or Ghibelin house⁷. When, however, that prince was raised to the imperial throne as FREDERIC II., the policy of the popes soon changed. Under their auspices, the Lombard League was revived, March 1226; and after several alternations of war and peace⁸, the Guelf cities engaged in an obstinate conflict, in the year 1236, which exhausted the resources of the house of Swabia. This war will be described elsewhere. Suffice it to say, that when Frederic II. died, Dec. 1250, Northern Italy was as good as freed from the German yoke.

The Italian republics were now renowned for their wealth and refinement, being far in advance of the rest of Europe. They did not, however, escape the curse of inward strife. The popular party was always strong in the companies of

⁵ The meaning of the terms *Guelf* and *Ghibelin* will be explained hereafter.

⁶ The inveterate feuds between Pisa and Florence, Modena and Bologna, Cremona and Milan, arrayed these cities in opposite factions. A counter-revolution and a return of exiles sometimes caused a change of politics in this respect.

⁷ The Milanese, though Guelfs, still took the part of Otho, from their hatred to the Swabian house.

⁸ *Fra Giovanni di Vicenza* meanwhile preached peace in Italy with extraordinary success, especially at the assembly of Paquara, Aug. 1233. His ambition increased with his reputation, and he aimed at absolute power. He attained it at Vicenza and Verona; but was soon overthrown.

the trades, and in the political clubs ; but the houses of the nobles were fortified, and the latter, when driven out of these strongholds, would ravage the lands of the citizens, and force them to admit them again within their walls. The feuds of private families⁹, and the partisan fury of Guelf and Ghibelin, also gave birth to dark atrocities ; and all the horrors of the old Greek democracies were revived in their worst forms. At last, even the degradation of slavery seemed better than such liberty ; so that, before the middle of the fourteenth century¹, most of the cities had become willing to receive a master. Ferrara, and afterwards Modena, fell under the power of the lords of *Este* ; the *Scalas* ruled at Verona ; the *Carraras*, at Padua ; the *Gongazas*, at Mantua ; the *Visconti* and *Sforzas*, at Milan ; and the *Medici*, at Florence.

VENICE.

A. D. 452. Refugees flock to the Venetian isles. •

697. Anafesto, first doge of Venice.

810. Pepin, king of Italy, attacks the Venetians. The Rialto becomes the seat of government.

997. The cities in Istria and Dalmatia place themselves under the Venetians.

1204. Conquests of Venice in Greece and in the *Ægean*.

1258. The wars of Venice with Genoa begin.

⁹ For instance, when the Guelf *Boniface Giéréméi* had been surprised by the Ghibelin brothers of *Imelda di Lambertazzi* in a secret interview with their sister, and murdered by a poisoned dagger ; and *Imelda*, having discovered her lover's hidden body while it was still warm, tried to suck out the poison from his wound and was found dead by his side ; the *Giéréméi* allied themselves with the *Modenese*, and, after forty days fighting in the streets of Bologna, drove out the *Lambertazzi* and their allies and adherents, A.D. 1274. Twelve thousand Ghibelin citizens were banished from Bologna, their goods and lands being confiscated, and their houses pillaged and razed to the ground.

¹ As early as the opening of the thirteenth century, *Azzo V. of Este* was chosen to be lord of Ferrara.

The islands in the Venetian *lagunes*² were originally peopled by a race akin to the Wends and Slaves, called Veneti, which had more fertile settlements on the neighbouring coasts. Fish and salt were their only wealth; and they first rose into consequence at the time of Attila's invasion, when thousands crowded into them from Aquileia and other towns on the mainland for safety, many of whom remained when the storm had blown over, and engaged in the pursuits of trade. The Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards, as they successively overran the north of Italy, likewise caused fresh emigrants to betake themselves to the island strongholds on the waters of the Adriatic; which, except, perhaps, in the reign of Theodoric, still claimed to belong to the Greek empire, but were ruled by their own tribunes.

In the year 697, at an assembly held on the island of Heraclea, it was proposed by the patriarch of *Grado*³ that the twelve annual tribunes should give place to a duke who was to be chosen for life⁴; and PAUL LUKE ANAFESTO was accordingly selected to be the first Doge of Venice. The energy of the Venetians was called forth to oppose the pirates of Istria and Dalmatia, when those countries had fallen under the occupation of the Slavic tribes: they also stoutly withstood the attacks of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne; who, in the year 810, took most of their islands, but failed signally against that of Rialto (Rivoalto),

² The *lagunes* are vast shoals, which have been formed on the north-western coast of the Adriatic by the deposits from the river. They are intersected by deep and intricate channels, in which there are hundreds of isles, the outer ones rising like a line of bulwarks against the open sea.

³ When the Arian Lombards conquered the north of Italy, the orthodox patriarch of Aquileia established himself at Grado, one of the Venetian isles.

⁴ The tribunes still continued to act as judges until the end of the ninth century.

in the centre of the whole cluster, whither the citizens had retired with every thing valuable which belonged to them. Rialto was now made the seat of government⁵: it was joined by bridges to the sixty islets which surrounded it; and to the future queen of the Adriatic,—the city of St. Mark, whose lion was borne on her coins and on her standards⁶,—the name of Venice, hitherto the designation of the state itself, was given.

The rising republic had to contend, at sea, not only with the Slavonians, but also with the Saracens, and even with the Normans; while, at home, it was weakened by factions. At length the piratical town of Narenta, which had been a thorn in its side, was humbled for ever by the doge PETER URSEOLO II.; who had just gained for the republic a large portion of the Istrian and Dalmatian coast, A.D. 997, several of the cities and islands having become subject-allies for the sake of protection against the pirates⁷, while others were forced into the league. The Doge now styled himself duke of Venice and Dalmatia; but the new acquisitions were often lost by rebellion, or encroached upon by the kings of Hungary, and it was the work of nearly four centuries to secure them.

The trade with the Greeks and Mahometans in the Levant brought immense wealth to the Venetians, though they were not without rivals in the Pisans and Genoese⁸;

⁵ Heraclea, and afterwards Malamocco, had been the chief island.

⁶ It was in the year 830, that the so-called body of St. Mark was brought to Venice from Egypt. The merchants who stole it had disarmed suspicion by substituting the less highly venerated relics of St. Claudius.

⁷ Among these were Trieste, Capo d'Istria, Zara, Spalatro, and Ragusa.

⁸ A quarrel about the possession of a church at Acre, and a battle in the harbour, which was won by the Venetians, June 1258, were the beginning of a long series of naval conflicts between Venice and Genoa.

and they were likewise greatly enriched by their various and elegant manufactures⁹. The crusades were the means of widening their traffic and influence; especially after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, when the Doge took the title of duke of three-eighths ("one quarter and a half") of the Roman empire. The island of Candia, which in the division of the spoil had fallen to the share of Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, and had been purchased by an exchange of territory, now became one of the chief seats of the power of Venice: her sway extended itself over the Morea, the Archipelago, and the Ionian isles; and she successfully claimed the sovereignty of the Adriatic sea¹. Many of these conquests were made by private nobles, to whom they were granted out in fief by the republic: for as the *Dogado*, or duchy, of Venice was but a small strip of the adjoining mainland, and Dalmatia as yet was rather a burthen than a source of strength; it was felt by the senate that the state would in the long run be exhausted, if it carried on a number of distant wars at its own charge, and were saddled with the expense of countless garrisons and strongholds². As it was, much of this prosperity was more brilliant than solid: the Greeks were useful allies, whereas the weakening of them opened the way to the Turks, who were dangerous neighbours.

⁹ The Venetians were particularly famous for their glass manufacture.

¹ From the latter part of the twelfth century, it was customary for the Doge to go out yearly in the state galley, the *Bucentaur*, on Ascension Day, and solemnly espouse the Adriatic by throwing a ring into its waters.

² Of these fiefs, the most important were the duchies of Gallipoli, Lemnos, and Naxos, the last of which—it was originally conquered by *Mark Sanudo*—was taken by the Turks from its twenty-first duke in the year 1570. Lemnos was recovered by the Greeks themselves, in the reign of Michael Palæologus.

- A. D. 1032. The power of the Doge limited.
- 1172. The Great Council established.
- 1179. The Council of Forty.
- 1297. The "Shutting" of the Great Council.
- 1298. The Venetians defeated by the Genoese off Corzola.
- 1309. The Pope excommunicates the Venetians.
- 1310. Tiepolo's plot ; the Council of Ten devised.
- 1319. The Great Council made unlimited.

The political institutions of Venice were of slow growth. At first, the Doge was little less than a monarch, though he was sometimes obliged to consult the general assembly of the citizens ; but in the eleventh century,—an age during which the commonwealth was often rent by the feuds of the *Morosini* and *Caloprini*³,—his authority began to be restricted. For in the year 1032, when DOMINIC FLABENIGO had been elected to the chief magistracy after the fall and exile of the powerful family of the Orsini, it was enacted that the Doge should not associate a son with himself in the government ; that two counsellors should be given him, without whose consent he was to do nothing ; and that, on weighty occasions, he should call in some of the principal citizens to advise with him⁴. The next important change was the establishment of the Great Council, which, at first, consisted of four hundred and eighty members, chosen annually⁵. This was in the year 1172. VITALIS MICHIELI II. had been killed in a sedition which had broken out when

³ The names of these two powerful families are thought to have been corruptions from the Greek *μωρόξεινος* and *καλοπρηνής*. Nick-names which meant silly dupes and bowing flatterers, may have been gloried in ; like our own party terms of Whig and Tory, which were originally given in reproach.

⁴ These additional counsellors were called the *Pregadi*.

⁵ Twelve tribunes (two from each district) each nominated forty members. The counsellors, however, soon taking the election of the tribunes from the people, chose them themselves ; and at length they even assumed the power of confirming or rejecting the new-elected counsellors, ere they themselves resigned.

he had returned from an unfortunate expedition against the Greeks, having brought the plague with him; and it was only after the constitution had been remodelled, that a new Doge, SEBASTIAN ZIANI, was elected. Besides the forming of a council which in the end supplanted the general assemblies, it was settled that the Doge should share the administration with six counsellors, who formed with him what was called the Signiory; and very soon afterwards, in the year 1179, the power of criminal justice was taken out of the hands of the Doge, and transferred to a tribunal of forty members (the Old Forty)⁶. Finally, in the year 1229, the Doge was no longer to choose any of his counsellors, but to preside in a senate⁷ yearly nominated by the Great Council; and his authority was quickly reduced to a mere shadow. Most stringent oaths were invented to bind his honour and his conscience; he was not to marry a foreigner, or to hold any property out of the dominions of Venice, and his heirs might be fined for his misdemeanours; he was to meddle with no judicial matters, nor to correspond with foreign states, nor even to open letters but in the presence of one of the Signiory; and he was to suffer no one to kneel before him, or to kiss his hand.

Although it had been forbidden to have more than four members of the Great Council from the same house, it was

⁶ This body was to be selected yearly from the Great Council.

⁷ The Council of the Sixty Pregadi, afterwards called the Senate, was doubled in the fourteenth century, *about which time the General Assembly ceased to be held*.—Several magistrates had seats in it; so that the whole number was much above two hundred. It could not enact laws;—the legislative and elective power was monopolized by the Great Council;—but it could raise taxes, and had the right of making peace and war: it had also to prepare the measures which were to be submitted to the Great Council.

Nothing could be proposed in the Senate, but by the Signiory, or by the Council of Savj.—This latter body consisted of sixteen persons, and in certain cases the Signiory was obliged to have its concurrence.

chiefly filled by the nobles, who had had the wisdom to lay aside their feuds and to stick together. The same men or their children were mostly chosen every year; a series of encroachments stealthily did away with the rights of the electors; and it was felt, when too late, that the commonwealth had fallen under the rule of an exclusive aristocracy. On the death of JOHN DANDOLO,—in whose reign the Inquisition was established in the city, and ducats first coined,—a counter-revolution was attempted: while the forty-one delegates of the Great Council⁸ were fixing upon his successor, the people flocked into the great square of St. Mark, Nov. 1289, and took upon themselves to nominate *James Tiepolo*, the son of a former doge. That mild and virtuous man shrank from the acceptance of the honour which they would have forced upon him; but ten days elapsed before the delegates ventured to proclaim the election of the stern and vindictive PETER GRADENIGO, by whose energy the people were completely brought under the yoke of the nobles.

On the last day of Feb. 1297, during an unfortunate war which the republic was waging with Genoa⁹, Gradenigo

⁸ The right of electing the doge had been transferred, in the year 1172, from the people to the Great Council. The mode of election was extremely circuitous, especially after the year 1249. Those councillors who drew the *thirty* gilt balls, were, by a fresh lottery, reduced to *nine*; the nine chose *forty*, who were also reduced to *twelve*; the twelve chose *twenty-five*, who were reduced to *nine*; the nine each chose *five*; and the *forty-five* were reduced to *eleven*, who chose the *forty-one* electors.

⁹ This war broke out in July 1293, owing to the seizure of some Venetian ships by Genoese merchantmen off Cyprus. The Venetians, under *Andrew Dandolo*, met with a great defeat in a sea-fight with *Lamba Doria*, off Corzola, Sept. 1298; and both nations, being exhausted, were glad to make peace in the following year. The armed galleys of Venice were not to appear on the Black Sea, or off the Syrian coast, for thirteen years.

proposed the famous decree which has been termed "The Closing of the Great Council." The tribunes who elected the counsellors were abolished, and the Council of Forty had to ballot upon the names of the members on the lists of the last four years : whoever had twelve balls in his favour, kept his place ; and any vacancies that remained were to be filled up from a supplementary list submitted by three persons whom the Great Council named ¹. Two more "Reformations" or decrees, soon followed : one, in the year 1298, restricting the supplementary list to the names of those who had been members, or who were descended from members ; and the other, in the year 1300, expressly forbidding the admission of "*new men* ²." The next step, in the year 1315, was the opening of the "Golden Book," kept by the notaries of the Council of Forty, in which all who had the requisite qualifications were to be registered on reaching the age of eighteen ; and at last, in the year 1319, the Great Council ceased to be elective, every one who was inscribed in the Golden Book being allowed to take his seat in it, as soon as he was twenty-five years old ³. Its numbers, of course, became unlimited.

The people did not resign their rights without a struggle. As early as the year 1299, Gradenigo detected and punished a plot of *Marino Bocconio* and other eminent plebeians not in the council ; and about ten years afterwards, June 1310,

¹ These new names likewise required twelve favouring balls out of the forty, to be elected.

² During these changes, ecclesiastics were excluded from the councils and from all civil offices ; for the priests were on the side of the people. In after times, nobles who were brothers, uncles, or nephews of cardinals were not allowed to vote when any ecclesiastical question was discussed. From the very first, senators who were laymen sat together with the spiritual judges in the Inquisition.

³ "*Per suos et per viginti-quinque annos*" was the formula of qualification ; yet every year, one-fifth of those who had passed the age of twenty were admitted into the council by lot.

he had to quell a more serious outbreak in which the commons were headed by some of the noblest families in Venice⁴, the ringleader being *Boëmond Tiepolo* (James' brother), who branded him as a Ghibelin because he had lately brought down the thunders of papal excommunication against the city⁵. The malcontents rose in arms, to attack the palace, kill the Doge, and break up the Great Council ; but their foes were on their guard, and had time to defend the narrow, winding streets which led to the square of St. Mark, by throwing up barricades, and hurling stones from the neighbouring houses upon the assailants. After much hard fighting, Tiepolo and his followers had to fall back into the quarter of the town beyond the canal, whither the Doge hesitated to pursue them : terms were wisely offered, and the discouraged nobles of the beaten faction agreed to withdraw to a place of exile.

The danger which had been thus escaped, and the necessity of closely watching the movements of the disaffected, frightened the Great Council into the adoption of a desperate remedy, yet worse than the disorders which it healed. This was the appointment of the Council of Ten. Ten *black*

⁴ Some families, who had been excluded from the Great Council, were indignant at having to give precedence to plebeians who had managed to get into it ; others, although more fortunate, felt that they had lost more than they gained by becoming the peers of a number of second-rate nobles.

⁵ The Venetians having supported the bastard line of Este against the legitimate princes and their ally, Pope Clement V., were placed under an interdict and excommunicated, March 1309 ; and a crusade being preached against them, they were driven out of Ferrara, of which they had been put in possession. The republic, when at length it obtained absolution, had to pay 100,000 golden florins, and their ambassador had to beg pardon of the pope, being led by a string attached to a dog's collar which he wore. The ambassador was a *Dandolo*, and *Del Cane* (of the Dog) became the designation of his branch of the family.

counsellors, chosen yearly, formed, with the Doge and his six *red* counsellors⁶, a board which had the fullest controul over the senate, the magistrates, and the public purse; which could treat with foreign powers; and which judged without appeal in cases of felony and treason. Their proceedings were veiled in the most hateful mystery. They employed spies and informers, and thus detected all conspiracies, and prevented all tumults: men were condemned by them, unheard, and on the evidence of unseen witnesses, to die or to be shut up for life, and their doom was kept unknown, —not even those who got out of their dungeons ever dared to betray the secrets of the prison-house. This grinding tyranny, which had begun as a temporary expedient (the first counsellors having been elected for two months only), lasted till the downfall of the republic⁷: it demoralised and debased the citizens, but had become essential to the selfish interests of a proud and highly privileged, but corrupt and impoverished, nobility⁸.

ROME.

- A. D. 593. Gregory the Great saves Rome from the Lombards.
- 730. Revolt of the Romans under Gregory II.
- 755, 756. Donations of Pepin to the Pope.
- 774. Charlemagne confirms Pepin's donations.
- 847. Leo IV. repels the Saracens.

⁶ These names are derived from the colour of the state robes worn by the counsellors. Of the six red counsellors, three went out of office every four months, the signiory being a fluctuating body with the exception of the Doge.

⁷ The refusal on the part of the members of the Great Council to elect any more counsellors, would, at any time, have put an end to the despotism. By threatening to do so, they did, in later years, extort some concessions which made the yoke less heavy. The first of these was in the year 1582; the last, in the year 1761.

⁸ In later times, the nobles were not allowed to trade,—a law which they sometimes evaded by entering into partnership with the privileged merchants; nor could they hold estates in the Italian domain.

When the North of Italy had been conquered by the Lombards, Rome was saved by the talent and policy of Pope GREGORY *the Great* and his successors. The city, though left without a garrison, had been strengthened by the numbers who had sought shelter within its walls; and as the Lombards were as yet either pagans or Arians, its defence came to be looked upon as a holy war. Thus were the energies of the popes called forth, and their temporal influence greatly increased. They were then chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, with the consent of the Greek emperors⁹; and were most of them men of rigid virtue.

Under GREGORY II.,—a sainted pontiff whose bright qualities were sullied by the superstition which he displayed in upholding the worship of images,—the authority of the Byzantine duke, who was an iconoclast, was set aside, A.D. 730¹, and Rome became a republic. Neither Gregory II., nor GREGORY III. (who succeeded him, March 731), wished altogether to throw off their allegiance to the Eastern emperor: the encroachments, however, of the Lombards drove the latter of these to seek protection from the Franks. Charles Martel gave him only fine words; but STEPHEN II. and other popes were afterwards more fortunate with his descendants, Pepin and Charlemagne, and the Lombards were overthrown, and large grants made to the Romish see. Charlemagne was at last crowned at Rome, as Emperor of the West, Dec. 800; and all connexion with Constantinople, of which indeed there are hardly any traces after the year 756, was for ever at an end.

Charlemagne eluded the performance of his promises to

⁹ PELAGIUS II., who was elected in the year 577, was not confirmed by the Greek emperor, the city being then beset by the Lombards.

¹ Gregory had accused *Marino*, the duke of *Rome*, and *Paul*, the exarch of *Ravenna*, of having tried to get him assassinated at the Emperor Leo's command: they were suffered to remain in Rome, but were deprived of all authority.

the Roman Church, and never put it in possession of the territory of the exarchate and duchy². The power of the archbishops of Ravenna; the turbulence of the Roman nobles, who were almost independent of all government; and the troubles of the times which followed; also prevented the popes from maintaining claims which they afterwards made good, chiefly by means of an impudent forgery³. Yet they got from the Carlovingsians a grant of the "useful domain" of a large district, which brought them in rents and dues and the services of numerous vassals: thus, though not sovereign princes, they became the mightiest of barons. So much wealth had the ill effect of tempting worldlings to lay hold of the pastoral staff; so that the popes were no longer what they had been, but were many of them as fierce and wicked as any of the lay rulers of a barbarous age⁴.

Before these mischievous consequences had fully developed themselves, was the glorious pontificate of LEO IV. This good and holy man was chosen to his bishopric, in the beginning of the year 847, at a time when Rome was still endangered by the Saracens from Sicily; who, though they had raised the siege of the city, had rifled the churches

² In fact, many of the towns of the exarchate were left under the administration of the archbishop of Ravenna, the representative of the exarchs. And not only he, but the archbishop of Milan, the patriarch of Aquileia, and other prelates, almost rivalled the popes in wealth and power.

³ A forged donation of Constantine, alleged to have been executed at the time of his baptism, was foisted on the credulity of an ignorant and uncritical age.

⁴ It is also to be observed that the intrusion into church dignities of the ill-qualified younger sons, and even the bastards of the great, which was now common, greatly deteriorated the learning and morals of the clergy as a body. Even the monks, though their character stood higher, had very much fallen away from the strict discipline of former days.

of St. Peter and St. Paul in the suburbs, and were ravaging the neighbouring country. When they had gone away, he strengthened the defences of Rome, and enclosed the church and borough of St. Peter, on the Vatican⁵, within its walls : the new quarter was called the Leonine city. He also rebuilt Civita Vecchia, which the infidels had destroyed ; and when they attempted to return, he leagued himself with the republics of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaëta, and their fleet was driven back with great loss. After his useful life was ended, July 855, he was revered as a saint.

A. D. 890, 920. Power of Theodora.

904. Sergius III. (died A.D. 911.)

906. Marozia marries Alberic, marquis of Camerino.

914. John X.

925. Marozia marries Guy of Tuscany.

928. John X. strangled in prison.

931. John XI. (died A.D. 936.)

932. Marozia marries king Hugh. Rome revolts ; Alberic consul.

954. Death of Alberic ; Octavian lord of Rome.

956. Octavian (John XII.) makes himself Pope.

963. John XII. deposed ; Leo VIII.

964. Return and death of John XII. Benedict V. elected and deposed.

The tenth century was truly an age of degradation to the Roman Church. Rome formed no part of the kingdom of Italy, being subject to the emperor alone ; and therefore, while the empire⁶ was either disputed or altogether vacant, she was left to govern herself, and became a prey to the most dreadful confusion. The popes, bearded by insolent barons, and liable to be imprisoned, degraded, and mur-

⁵ The modern popes have their palace on the Vatican ; so that they cannot be said to have their seat upon the seven hills of the ancient city. A legend that the burning of the Saxon borough near the Leonine city was stopped by the prayers of St. Leo, has been immortalized by the pencil of Raphael.

⁶ After the deposition of Charles the Fat, Nov. 888.

dered, were thoroughly contemptible. Wolves in sheep's clothing, they owed their elevation to bloodshed and bribery, or to that worst kind of simony, the unhallowed influence of infamous women: for such was the corruption of the times, that, for nearly fifty years, the notorious *Theodora* and her daughter *Marozia* had the disposal of the first bishopric in the Christian world.

Theodora, who by birth was of patrician rank, had immense wealth, and was mistress of several important strongholds⁷. Of the party opposed to Pope *Formosus*⁸, she took a warm interest in the struggles which lasted some years after his death (April 896); when each faction in turn would set up a new pontiff and cancel the acts of his fallen predecessor. Shamelessly immodest, she had many of the Roman nobles for her lovers, and by their means at last ruled every thing: she even placed on the papal throne a young paramour, *John X.*⁹, April 914, having already aided him to get the sees of Bologna and Ravenna in quick succession. *Marozia* was in all points worthy of such a mother. The mistress, it is believed, of a pope¹⁰, she was married (about the year 906) to *Alberic* marquis of *Camerino*, who had lately seized the duchy of *Spoletto*; and after the death of *Theodora*, she and her husband were dangerous foes to *John X.*, a pontiff who, to do him justice, governed well, and had gallantly routed the Saracens on the banks of the *Garigliano*. When *Alberic* had been slain in a sedition (A.D. 925), *Marozia* was upheld by numerous barons, her

⁷ Several of the triumphal arches and massive tombs of the old Romans, had been turned into fortresses by the nobles.

⁸ For an account of its proceedings, see p. 290, note 3.

⁹ Most historians give the credit of this to a younger *Theodore*, said to have been her second daughter.

¹⁰ *SERGIVS III.*, who (seven years after he had been in vain nominated by a faction) returned from exile, Jan. 904; deposed the pope then reigning; and succeeded in getting himself consecrated.

profligate admirers: she surprised the Mole of Adrian (the modern castle of St. Angelo), a stronghold which is the key of Rome; and by marriage with Guy duke of Tuscany became more formidable than ever. After a while, the unhappy pope was thrown into prison, where he was either strangled or smothered, May 928; and Marozia, who again became a widow in the following year, put creatures of her own in the apostolic seat, as often as it was vacant. The third and last of these was JOHN XI., her second son¹, March 931. But when her new husband, Hugh king of Italy, was driven out of Rome (A.D. 932)², the indignant citizens cast off her yoke, and she and John XI.—a pope who had never been allowed to have a will of his own—ended their days in confinement.

Marozia's eldest son Alberic³, who now took the title of consul or patrician, with the consent of the people became master of Rome. Like his mother, he nominated the popes. When he died, in the year 954, he left his power to his youthful son Octavian; who, being already a priest, as soon as ever there was a vacancy, June 956, had himself consecrated as pope, under the title of JOHN XII.⁴ It was by this pontiff that Otho the Great was crowned emperor. He soon turned against Otho, and plotted with his enemies to drive the foreigners out of Italy: but he fled from Rome at the sudden approach of the emperor with his army, and a council was then called in which he was accused of murder, sacrilege, perjury, incest, and other fearful crimes. As he would not appear when cited, he was de-

¹ Scandal said that Pope Sergius, and not the marquis Alberic, was his real father.

² For an account of this revolution, see p. 294.

³ Alberic did not obtain his father's marquisate and duchy.

⁴ At this period, a city prefect was instituted, who had annual consuls as his assessors; and also twelve tribunes, or decurions.

posed, and LEO VIII. (a layman) chosen in his stead, Nov. 963.

There was a strong feeling in Rome against these measures⁵. Otho had to quell an outbreak of the people before he left the city; and hardly was he gone, when John XII. returned and forced Leo VIII., his rival, to seek safety in flight: several persons were now put to death, and two of the cardinals were shockingly mutilated⁶. A council of sixteen bishops also met, Feb. 964, in which the late proceedings were annulled. John's next care was to prepare for a siege with which he was threatened, but which he did not live to see. He was surprised one night, in the house of a married woman, and received a blow on the head, of which he died eight days afterwards, May 964. His party, nothing daunted, made choice of BENEDICT V., one of the deacons, to succeed him.

When Otho and his Germans sat down before their walls, the Romans bravely withstood their first attacks; but hunger and weariness quickly obliged them to yield. Leo VIII. was triumphantly re-instated, and a third council was held in which his opponent was degraded. In the cathedral church of St. John Lateran, on his knees, at the feet of Leo and the emperor, Benedict owned that he had sinned and that he was a usurper⁷: he stripped himself of his pall, and he gave up his pastoral staff, which was forthwith broken before his eyes; his priestly garments were then taken from him, and, once more a deacon, he was doomed to exile. It was also decreed that the pope,

⁵ The adherents of the house of Alberic were many, and they were joined by the lovers of national and ecclesiastical independence.

⁶ One of these had his tongue, his nose, and two of his fingers cut off.

⁷ And yet the ultramontane or high-papal party still deem him to have been the true pope.

clergy, and people of Rome confirmed to Otho and his successors the power of choosing a successor in the kingdom of Italy, of appointing the pope, and of giving investiture to bishops ; so that neither patrician, nor pope, nor bishop should ever be elected without their consent ⁸.

A. D. 965. John XIII.

966. Otho the Great restores the Pope.

974. Benedict VI. deposed ; the antipope Boniface VII. expelled. Benedict VII. (died A.D. 983.)

984. Return of Boniface ; John XIV. put to death.

987. John XV. (elected A.D. 985) troubled by Crescentius.

993. St. Ulric canonized.

997. Gregory V. (elected A.D. 996) driven out by Crescentius.
John XVI. antipope.

998. Fall of Crescentius.

Leo's successor, JOHN XIII. (bishop of Narni and son of a bishop), was enthroned in the presence and with the sanction of the emperor's commissioners, Oct. 965. He was so haughty and overbearing, that he was imprisoned by the magistrates and afterwards sent out of the city ; but he was recalled in haste at the tidings that Otho was on his march to re-instate him. On this occasion, the pope and the emperor fearfully disgraced themselves. The dead body of count *Rofredo* (the late prefect, whom John's friends had caused to be killed some months before) was taken out of its grave and quartered ; the tribunes were hanged ; the consuls were banished ; and the prefect *Peter*, after being tied by the hair to the tail of the horse in the equestrian statue of Constantine, was set upon an ass, his

⁸ This was in accordance with the oaths and promises of the Romans (confirmed by a bull of Leo), at the time of the deposition of John XII. The decree, though doubted by some, is admitted even by Gratian.—Besides a number of Italian and German bishops, the emperor and the Roman clergy and laity took part in the council, the pope being president.

face being turned the wrong way, and whipped through the streets of Rome.

John died Sept. 972; and Otho, in the following year. A fresh effort was now made by the Romans to shake off the German yoke. In the year 974, Pope BENEDICT VI. was seized by the demagogue *Crescentius*⁹, and either starved or strangled in prison: while he was still living, one of the leaders of the faction, the cardinal deacon *Boniface Francone*, was consecrated in his stead. BONIFACE VII., as he styled himself, fled away to Constantinople, at the end of forty days, with as much of the treasures and jewels of the churches as he had time to carry off; and the imperial party elected BENEDICT VII., a nephew or grandson of the consul Alberic, and bishop of Sutri¹. Benedict's successor was the ill-fated JOHN XIV.², who had only held his see a few months, when the antipope returned from Constantinople, after ten years of exile, March 984, and threw him into a dungeon where he eventually died of hunger, a crime of which Boniface hardly lived to enjoy the fruits. That ruffian died suddenly, Mar. 985, so hated that his corpse was mangled by the people and dragged about the streets.

JOHN XV.³, the next pope, found himself greatly cramped by the power of Crescentius, who had been consul since the year 980. He was once banished from Rome; but the dread of Otho III.'s interference induced Crescentius to recall him. After his death, Otho III., who had entered Italy with an army, easily carried the

⁹ Crescentius, who was a noble, is said to have been the son of the younger Theodora.

¹ He owed his election to the interest of his family, which was in possession of the county of Tusculum. A very dubious pope, named DOMNUS or DONUS II., is said to have preceded him for a brief space.

² Bishop of Pavia. His name was *Peter*; but, out of respect to the Apostle, he changed it on becoming pope.

³ This pope canonized *Ulric* or *Udalric*, a German saint, Jan. 993, which is the earliest authentic instance of this kind of solemnity.

election of his own kinsman *Bruno*, GREGORY V.⁴, the first German pope, May 996 ; but ere a twelvemonth had quite elapsed, Crescentius drove out the stranger and put in his room a Calabrian Greek, *Philagathus* bishop of *Placentia*, the antipope John XVI. But before Crescentius, who had leagued himself with the Greeks, could have any help from Constantinople, Otho was master of Rome, Feb. 998 : the antipope was overtaken in his flight, and was deprived of nose, eyes, and tongue by his pursuers, who only spared his life to prolong his wretchedness. The Germans had the heart to trample afresh on a man thus fallen. When he had been awhile in prison, they led him with jeers through the city, clad in a torn vestment, and mounted on an ass of which he held the tail in both hands⁵.

The consul still remained to be subdued. He had taken refuge with his friends in the Mole of Adrian ; and in that massive stronghold, which was long afterwards called the Tower of Crescentius, he bravely defied his foes. The emperor at last had the meanness to get him to surrender, by pledging his royal word that he and his men should be unharmed ; but no sooner was Crescentius in his fangs, than he beheaded him, April 998.

A. D. 999. Sylvester II.

[1003. John XVII. John XVIII. 1009. Sergius IV.]

1014. Henry II. restores Benedict VIII. (elected A.D. 1012.)

1024. John XIX.

1033. Benedict IX.

1044. Sylvester III. antipope. Benedict sells the papacy to Gregory VI.

1046. Gregory VI. deposed by Henry III. Clement II.

⁴ He was a son of *Otho* duke of *Franconia*, whose father, *Conrad* duke of *Lorrain*, was the son-in-law of *Otho* the Great.

⁵ *St. Nilus*, the aged abbot of a monastery near *Gaëta*, interceded in vain with *Otho* and *Gregory*, reminding them that the bishop of *Placentia*, who had been in high favour with *Otho* II., had held them both over the font.

SYLVESTER II. (Gerbert), the first French pope, succeeded the first German pontiff, April 999. He did not live more than four years after his elevation; yet, by his virtues and his patronage of learning, he did much to strengthen the spiritual authority which vice and ignorance had weakened. The popes who came after him had to strive hard for the temporal power against the love of freedom which was not yet dead in the city of Cato and Brutus⁶. The scale was turned in their favour by the saintly Henry of Bavaria; who was crowned at Rome, Feb. 1014, by BENEDICT VIII. (John cardinal-bishop of Porto), whom he had brought back when driven out by the citizens, who hated a man that had been forced upon them by the faction of his kinsmen the counts of *Tusculum*.

Two more popes followed from the same powerful family, of which the papal chair had well nigh become the heir-loom: these were Benedict's brother and nephew, JOHN XIX. (Romanus), and BENEDICT IX. (Theophylact), both of whom were laymen, and owed their election to bribery, the latter being a mere boy—some say, not more than ten years of age—when he was consecrated. This Benedict IX., as he grew up, so revelled in lust, robbery, and bloodshed, that he was unbearable. Twice was he cast out of the city⁷; and when he had returned the second time,—Sylvester III. (*John*, cardinal-bishop of *Sabino*), an antipope set up by the people, had been unable to withstand his myrmidons,—feeling that he was universally despised, he sold the papacy to the archpriest *John Gratian*, GRE-

⁶ About the year 1010, *John*, a son of Crescentius, had become patrician, and had remodelled the Commonwealth. Besides the consuls and a senate of twelve persons only, was a prefect for the administration of justice.

⁷ Once, in the year 1038, when he was restored by the Emperor Conrad the Salic; and again, in the year 1044, when he came back with the aid of the soldiers of his powerful kinsmen.

GORY VI., that he might live at his ease, A.D. 1044. The new pope put down robbery with a strong hand, re-established something like order, and recovered many of the lands which the church had lost. He was therefore hated by the lawless, and reviled as a man of blood.

In the meanwhile, Sylvester III. was in possession of St. Peter's on the Vatican; and Benedict IX., who was too restless to be happy in a private station, still retained the cathedral of St. John Lateran and his old title: thus there were three popes at a time, and it was hard to say which was the true shepherd. Henry III. of Germany, when he came to be crowned emperor, resolved to put an end to the scandal. A council was held at Sutri, near Rome, Dec. 1046, in which Gregory VI. was found guilty of simony, and deposed, as well as his rivals, who, when summoned, had not ventured to show themselves; the chancellor of Germany, *Suidger*, bishop of *Bamberg*, CLEMENT II., was placed in the vacant see; and the Romans not only swore never to elect a pope without the reigning emperor's approval, but even gave up to Henry the right of nomination^a—a trust which he religiously fulfilled.

A. D. 1048. Damasus II. Leo IX.

1053. Leo taken prisoner by the Normans.

1055. Victor II.

1057. Stephen IX.

1058. Benedict X. antipope. Nicholas II.

1059. The election of the Pope given to the Cardinals; transubstantiation asserted.

1061. Alexander II.—Cadaloüs (Honorius II.) antipope.

Clement II. having been soon removed by death, Oct. 1047, the deposed Benedict IX. thrust himself once more into the papal seat. He thought it best, however, to retire

^a It is not certain whether this right of nomination was transmissible to Henry's successors.

from it, July 1048, and give place to *Poppo* bishop of *Briza*, *DAMASUS II.*, whom Henry had nominated. *Damasus* died in less than a month, and the emperor now made choice of his own kinsman *Bruno*, bishop of *Toul*, who became *ST. LEO IX.* The pontiff-elect was persuaded by the monk *Hildebrand*, the master spirit of the age⁹, not to receive his appointment from the hands of an earthly prince, but to go meekly to Rome in the guise of a pilgrim, and solicit the suffrages of the clergy and people : he was welcomed on his arrival with shouts of joy, and was not enthroned until the ancient forms of election had been scrupulously observed.

The pontificate of *Leo*—owing to the boldness and energy of *Hildebrand*, who, for more than twenty years before he was actually pope, ruled every thing at his will—was the beginning of that great revolution by which the power which the bishops of Rome had already gained by encroaching on the rights of metropolitans¹, was carried

⁹ *Hildebrand*, was the son of a carpenter of *Savona* in *Tuscany*. He had been the staunch friend of the deposed *Gregory VI.*, whom he considered to have been ill treated.

¹ The see of *Rome* (which was anciently held to have been founded by *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*), owing to the dignity of the imperial city, was the very first in rank. Its bishop thus came to be looked upon as the head of the Christian world, and to be the representative and successor of *St. Peter*, his founder, who was in some respects the leader of the Apostles. This kind of primacy gave him much weight and influence, even beyond the limits of his jurisdiction ; yet *Rome* was so far from being deemed the only centre of unity, that when *Victor*, at the end of the second century, excommunicated the eastern bishops on account of a difference as to the time of keeping of *Easter*, his conduct was universally condemned, and his opponents adhered to their own observance. Nor was *Pope Stephen I.* more successful, about sixty years afterwards, when he refused to hold communion with *St. Cyprian*, and the bishops of *Africa* and the *East*, who had rejected the baptism of heretics as invalid ; and the rival influence

to the utmost height of spiritual domination. In a short time, the bishops of the western church, instead of being recognised as the independent successors of the apostles,

of the patriarchs at Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and afterwards at Constantinople, prevented his successors from extending their supremacy over the Oriental churches, notwithstanding the deference long paid to the Roman bishops as the champions of orthodoxy. In the West, it was far otherwise. Not to speak of the somewhat doubtful canons of the council of Sardica, in the year 347, the edicts of the emperors Valentinian I. (A.D. 378) and Valentinian III. (A.D. 455) had done much towards enabling the popes to exercise an appellent jurisdiction, when bishops had been condemned by provincial synods ; and the boundaries of the *patriarchate* of Rome were not only widened by successive encroachments, but a systematic attempt was made to govern it as completely as the *primacy*,—the pope was a primate as well as a patriarch,—which was confined to Southern Italy and the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. In his primacy, of which the four *suburbicarian* provinces had no metropolitans, and the six *urbicarian* provinces only honorary ones, the Pope consecrated bishops, convoked synods, and heard appeals : having thus tasted the sweets of despotic power, it became his policy to supplant the metropolitans elsewhere. No very great progress, however, was made beyond Italy itself, until the days of Gregory the Great, who was consecrated Sept. 590. This pontiff sent legates, armed with the fullest powers, into France and Spain : he also more boldly put forth his exclusive claims to spiritual sovereignty as holding St. Peter's keys, than any of his predecessors had dared. Yet there is no proof that St. Peter was ever bishop of Rome. *St. Linus*, the first bishop, seems to have been consecrated by St. Paul in St. Peter's lifetime ; and there are even some grounds for the belief that *St. Clement*, the third bishop, was consecrated by St. Peter himself.

The infallibility ascribed to the pope by the ultramontanes is yet more irreconcilable with history. Pope *Liberius*, for instance, purchased his return from exile, in the year 358, by giving a solemn sanction to Arianism, which he afterwards retracted ; Pope *Vigilius* vainly opposed the acts of the Fifth General Council, in the year 553 ; and, what is more remarkable, Pope *Honorius* was actually condemned as a heretic, after his death, on account of his Monothelite errors, by the Sixth General Council at Constantinople (A.D. 680), a judgment acquiesced in by his successors. Thus we find "the centre of unity"

were held to be the mere delegates of an Italian priest; and even the just prerogatives of kings and emperors were insolently trampled under foot.

the support of heresy, and "infallible" popes at issue with infallible general councils.

In the middle of the eighth century, St. Boniface, the English apostle of Germany, who had taken an oath of obedience to the pope when consecrated bishop, distinguished himself by his zeal for the glory of the Romish see. As legate of Pope Zachary, he got the German and French bishops to make a rule (A.D. 742) that metropolitans should obey the Pope's lawful commands, and apply to Rome for the pall.—The *pall*, or *pallium*, was a vestment, originally conferred on patriarchs by the Greek emperors, which, at the close of the sixth century, began to be given by the popes as a matter of favour. In the Eighth General Council at Constantinople (A.D. 872), the right of sending it to metropolitans was allowed not only to the Pope, but to all the patriarchs. In the ninth century, metropolitans were no longer suffered to perform any functions, until they had received the pall; and an oath of fidelity was exacted from them.

At this latter period, an audacious forgery, which now bears the name of the False Decretals, greatly contributed to rivet the fetters of the pope's appellent jurisdiction on the metropolitans, forbidding even national councils to be held without his leave. This was a collection of decretals, or canons, of the early Roman bishops, which the forger ascribed to a *St. Isidore*, a Spanish bishop of the seventh century; and of which the genuineness was asserted by the ambitious Nicholas I. The false and genuine decretal epistles or rescripts of the popes, together with the canons of councils, form the basis of the canon law. Gratian, an Italian monk, about the year 1140, published a digest of it, in imitation of the Pandects, termed the *Decretum*. The *Decretum* was almost superseded by *Raymond of Pennafort's* five books of Decretals, chiefly of later popes, promulgated by Gregory IX., in the year 1234: to these, Boniface VIII. added a supplementary part, called the *Sext*, in five books; which was followed by the *Clementines* and *Extravagantes Joannis*, (the new constitutions of Clement V. and John XXII.) Some additional constitutions, called *Extravagantes Communes*, complete the whole system.

It was the obvious policy of the popes to support refractory bishops against their metropolitans: they also attached to their obedience large bodies of the regular clergy by exempting monasteries from episcopal

Bent on reforming the discipline of the Church, Leo IX. endeavoured to enforce the celibacy of the clergy², cutting off all domestic ties, that he might bind them more closely to the interests of their order. He also set his face against simony³, an evil practice which had foisted so many unworthy priests into the highest dignities; and councils were holden in Italy, and also in France and Germany, at which he himself presided, to put an end to the scandal and to punish the chief offenders. In this work, he was zealously seconded by Hildebrand and his fellow monk

jurisdiction; a practice which became common in the eighth century. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whole orders would be thus privileged.

The coronation of Pepin and the grant of the imperial dignity to Charlemagne were undeniable precedents for the right of the Holy See to make and unmake kings: those great princes indeed kept the supreme power in their own hands, but it was otherwise with their weak-minded descendants. In the ninth century, the bishops had become their masters (see p. 262, note 7): these were soon supplanted by the popes, one of whom, Nicholas I., excommunicated king Lothaire (see p. 261, note 5), a method of dealing with princes which was followed up with great success. Yet though Charles the Bald, who owed his election to John VIII., set the example of signing a capitulation in favour of the Pope and the Roman Church, when he was crowned emperor, Dec. 875, and the chair of St. Peter bade fair to become the throne of the world; in the next century, the vices of the pontiffs caused a reaction, and for a while much of the victory which had been gained over the civil authority was lost.

² Contrary to the practice of the Apostles (1 Cor. ix. 5; Heb. xiii. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 11, 12; Titus i. 6), the Latin church had begun very early, not only to forbid the marriage of the ministers of the church down to the sub-deacons, but even to oblige those who had been married before ordination to forsake their wives. The rule had been badly kept; and numbers of priests, and not a few bishops, had either wives or concubines.

³ Bishoprics and church benefices were sold to a fearful extent. Bishops had also the objectionable practice of taking fees and presents from clerks whom they ordained or instituted into livings.

Peter Damian of Ravenna⁴, a hot-headed fanatic. He died, April 1054, about ten months after he had been taken prisoner by the Normans, having led an army against them, to drive them out of Italy.—This disgrace he had deeply felt, although his devout conquerors became his vassals, to the great advantage of the Holy See.

Another German, *VICTOR II.* (*Gebhard*, bishop of *Eichstadt*, the son of a Swabian count), was nominated by *Henry III.*, at the request of *Hildebrand*, who had come as the delegate of the Roman people. He was succeeded, Aug. 1057, by *Frederic of Lower Lorrain*, *STEPHEN IX.*; on whose death, March 1058, the faction of the counts of *Tusculum* tumultuously elected *John* bishop of *Veletri*, the antipope *BENEDICT X.*, who was deposed in the beginning of the next year. For the bishops and cardinals who had been driven out, aided by *Godfrey* duke of *Lower Lorrain* and, in right of his wife *Beatrice*, duke of *Tuscany*⁵ (the late pope's brother), had joined with *Hildebrand*, at *Sienna*, in crowning the Burgundian *Gerard*, bishop of *Florence*, as pope, Dec. 1058; an act for which the Romans apologized to *Henry*, the youthful king of Germany,—*Henry III.* was now dead,—and obtained his sanction.

⁴ *Peter Damian* (*Damiani*) was remarkable for his rigorous asceticism. He was made cardinal-bishop of *Ostia* by *Stephen IX.*, in the year 1057, and died, shortly before the elevation of *Hildebrand*, Feb. 1072.

⁵ *GODFREY IV.*, *the Bearded*,—the son of *Gothelon* marquis of *Antwerp* and duke of *Lower Lorrain* (the father of Pope *Stephen IX.*),—had married *BEATRICE* of *Lorrain*, the widow of *BONIFACE the Pious*, duke of *TUSCANY* (who belonged to the house of *Este*, which claims descent from *Guy* of *Tuscany* by an unknown wife). This lady, by the settlement of her first marriage, became duchess of *Tuscany* after the death of her son *FREDERIC*, A.D. 1055; she lost her second husband, by whom she had no children, Sept. 1070; and died April 1076, leaving the possessions of *Boniface* to the daughter she had by him,—the famous countess *MATILDA*. See p. 338, note 8.

NICHOLAS II., the new pope, made Hildebrand his archdeacon, and was altogether guided by him. By giving the Norman chief *Robert Guiscard* investiture as duke of Apulia, he gained a staunch ally⁶: he also published a decree in a council which he assembled at Rome, April 1059, that when the Holy See was vacant, the seven suffragan bishops of the neighbourhood, with the priests and deacons of the principal churches of the city (who formed with them the college of cardinals) should choose the pope; yet with the concurrence of the rest of the clergy and laity, and "saving the honour and respect due to" the young king "Henry, who would one day be emperor⁷." The same council forbade a concubinary priest to perform mass⁸; and affirmed the dogma of transubstantiation, obliging *Berenger of Tours*, the archdeacon of Angers, to retract his opinions to the contrary,—which he did with his usual facility⁹.

⁶ Robert's brother Richard was also confirmed as prince of Capua, a city which he did not reduce until some years afterwards.—The Normans ravaged the lands of the rebel Roman nobles, and were the cause of much of the depopulation of the Campagna.

⁷ The Third Council of Lateran, March 1179, gave the election exclusively to the cardinals, and made a majority of two-thirds necessary.—*Cardinal* was originally the designation of the clergy who were stationary.

⁸ People were also forbidden to hear the mass from such a priest. He was not to be allowed to read the Epistle or Gospel, to stay in the sanctuary, or to receive his share of the revenues of his church.

⁹ The doctrine of transubstantiation, or the change of the *substance* of the consecrated bread and wine into Christ, was first broached by *Paschasius Radbert*, afterwards abbot of Corbie (Corvey), in the year 857. It was opposed by *John Scotus Erigena*, a famous schoolman of Irish origin, and by *Ratramn*, a priest of Corbie, who wrote a remarkable work against it. Berenger followed in their steps, but in some points was less orthodox: he found a subtle opponent in the celebrated *Lanfranco*, and was repeatedly condemned by councils at Rome and elsewhere.

When Nicholas II. died, July 1061, the new law of election was carried out by Hildebrand and his party; who, after an interval of two months, crowned *Anselm* bishop of *Lucca* as ALEXANDER II., without waiting for young Henry's confirmation¹. The mother and guardian of that prince was encouraged by the Lombard clergy, many of whom were married or had concubines², and by the counts of *Tusculum* and other nobles, to set up *Cadalöus* bishop of *Parma* as antipope, under the title of Honorius II. But though Cadalöus was at first victorious when he marched with an army to Rome, he was driven back by Godfrey of Lower Lorraine, the duke of Tuscany; nor was he more successful in a later attempt, after his patroness had lost her power, and the German king had acknowledged Alexander II. The schism was healed at the council of Mantua, in the year 1067; yet Cadalöus, who had kept his bishopric, still called himself pope.

Alexander II. was the mere tool of Hildebrand.—The sanction which he was made to give to the expedition of William of Normandy greatly tended to the increase of the papal authority in England; vigorous measures were directed against the liberties of the church of Milan, the stronghold of simony and of the Nicolaitan heresy, as the marriage of priests was termed³; a constitution was pro-

¹ A cardinal had been sent, when the pope died, to the German court; but he had returned home, as the empress-regent Agnes had kept him waiting seven days without an audience.

² All the ancient Milanese historians assert that *St. Ambrose* allowed the priests of his diocese to marry once: two of the later archbishops of Milan had also been married.

³ The see of Milan had the primacy over the seven provinces of Northern Italy. Its corruptions had previously induced Nicholas II., in the year 1059, to send Peter Damian thither as legate; who, though the people were stirred up to threaten to kill him for assailing the independence of their church, carried all before him by his

mulgated by which bishops were forbidden to exercise their functions until their election had been confirmed at Rome ; and Peter Damian, " the eye of the apostolic see," was sent, in the year 1063, into France, to reform the clergy and intimidate king Philip I. ; and into Germany, in the year 1069, to hinder Henry from putting away his wife *Bertha*, by threatening that he should be excommunicated and never crowned as emperor. Henry yielded to the pope's will ; but, like the king of France, he could not refrain from raising money by the sale of bishoprics and abbeys. For this, and for his immoral life, he was at length cited to Rome to stand his trial—a summons to which he paid little heed. Shortly afterwards, Alexander II. died, April 1073, and Hildebrand himself was elected pope.

A. D. 1073. *Gregory VII.*

- 1074. Decree against lay Investitures.
- 1076. Gregory excommunicates Henry IV.
- 1080. Guibert of Ravenna (Clement III.) antipope.
- 1084. Henry crowned by Guibert ; Gregory besieged in Rome.
- 1085. Death of Gregory III.
- 1086. Victor III. (consecrated and dies A.D. 1087.)
- 1088. Urban II.
- 1095. *Council of Clermont.*
- 1099. Paschal II.
- 1100. Death of Guibert.
- 1111. Paschal's forced concessions. He crowns Henry V.
- 1118. Gelasius II. Gregory VIII. antipope.
- 1119. Calixtus II.
- 1120. The antipope driven from Rome (deposed A.D. 1121).
- 1122. *Treaty of Worms.* End of the disputes about investitures.
- 1123. First General Council of Lateran.

GREGORY VII. (as Hildebrand called himself, in memory

eloquence, and forced *Guy*, the archbishop, and his clergy to swear that they would reform themselves. These oaths had been quickly broken.

of his deposed friend Gregory) felt that he was the object of much dread and hatred ; and having been hastily elected, he was anxious that his authority should be undisputed. He therefore sent word to Henry IV., that he had been chosen against his will ; and that, though he was forced to take charge of the church, nothing on earth would compel him to receive ordination ⁴, unless the king and the princes of Germany gave their consent. Henry was softened by this fair-spoken message : he ratified the election, and Gregory was accordingly consecrated.

Once firm in his seat, Gregory threw himself with fresh vigour into the carrying out of his grand undertaking, to recover the freedom and (as he hoped) the glory and purity of the church, by tying up the hands of the princes who had defiled it ⁵, and making Rome the strong centre of unity and spiritual power. As the sun in the heavens outshines all lesser lights, so was the Pope's authority to cast all other rule into the shade : bishops, primates, kings, and emperors, were to be brought into bondage, and made to kiss his feet. He was well cut out for his task. He never wavered, or lost an opportunity, but went straight to his mark ; and no scruples ever troubled him. With the soul of a hero and the heart of a monk ; burning hot with a zeal which had seared every feeling of love and

⁴ Gregory was not even a priest, being still in deacons' orders.

⁵ It is but fair to Gregory,—and to our own *Becket*, as well,—to bear in mind the ignorance, cruelty, corruption, and injustice of the governments of those days. In such times of violence and wrong, the clergy, bad as they were, were better than the laity, and their cause was in some respects that of order and intellect against feudalism and brute force. The heart of the people was therefore with them. They had also this strong inducement to uphold the priesthood, that the church alone was the friend of the oppressed classes : its highest honours were open to all without distinction, and could raise the meanest serf above the heads of the proudest nobles.

pity; brave, but cunning; rigid and self-denying, but boundlessly ambitious; he was thoroughly in earnest, and, even when furthering his cause by foul means, ever believed that he was doing God service.

The boldest claims put forth by former popes, were now daringly asserted. Legates *a latere*⁶—some of whom were only deacons—were constantly sent to lord it over the primates of national churches; metropolitans had to come in person to receive their palls; and bishops, besides being often cited to Rome, were at length forced to take a most stringent oath of fealty to the Holy See⁷. The popes were no longer to be chosen with the emperor's consent⁸; but the emperors, after election, were to be confirmed by the pope. "There is only one name in the world," said Gregory, "that of the pope. He alone can wear imperial ornaments: he alone can nominate and depose bishops; summon, hold, and dissolve councils, and canonize saints. He has never erred, and he never will err. He can put down princes from their thrones, and loose their subjects

⁶ The popes legates or vicars, at first, were usually native metropolitans;—thus the Archbishop of Canterbury came to be "*legatus natus*," by virtue of his office. These ordinary legates (*nati*) were suspended by the special legates (*a latere*), who would hold synods, promulgate canons, depose prelates, and fulminate interdicts. Sovereigns, however, were gradually taught by experience to forbid the sending of legates, and the citing of bishops to Rome, without their leave.

⁷ In the year 1079, it had been the policy of the popes to support refractory bishops against their metropolitans; these having been subdued, it was the bishops' turn to be enslaved.

⁸ Although bishops were originally elected by the clergy and people, and (if approved) consecrated by the neighbouring bishops; the early Christian emperors confirmed the elections to the great patriarchal sees, in which their example was followed in Italy by the Gothic and Lombard kings, and by Charlemagne and his successors.

from their oaths of allegiance ²." And he was as good as his word. He gave to *Demetrius of Dalmatia*, who had promised to pay him homage, the title of king (A.D. 1076); he deprived *Boleslaus II.*, for the murder of a bishop, of the crown of Poland, and reduced the country itself to the rank of a duchy (A.D. 1080); he tried to dispose of the conquests which the Spanish Christians had won from the Moors, saying that the recovered territory had belonged to the Visigothic kings who were vassals of St. Peter; he claimed to be liege-lord of Denmark, Hungary, and England ¹; and for a while, he had *Philip I.* of France as his trembling slave, and Henry IV. of Germany a ruined suppliant at his mercy.

These two sovereigns had made a scandalous traffic of their church patronage ³. The cowardly French king, when rebuked, would bend like a willow, and then return to his old ways; but Henry was a man of spirit, and the struggle between him and Hildebrand was for life and death. Nor was it long before it began. Gregory, in the second council which he held at Rome against simony and the concubinage of priests,—wherever his influence reached,

² The right of deposing kings was a logical consequence not only of the pope's infallibility, but also of the doctrine that none can be a Catholic unless he be in communion with Rome. For if the pope excommunicates the adherents of the deposed prince, those who will not abandon their sovereign must be deemed to fall into the deadly sin of schism by consistent Papists.

¹ He denounced Solomon of Hungary for becoming the vassal of the emperor, and called upon William the Conqueror to do homage for England. William haughtily refused.

³ The sovereigns of France and Germany not only nominated the bishops,—or, at least, urgently recommended them to the electors,—but also made them pay homage for their temporalities, putting the ring and pastoral staff into their hand by way of *investiture* (see p. 203), a practice adopted by Charlemagne. Needy and covetous ~~men~~ abused this right, and sold their patronage.

the clergy who would not forsake their wives, were bereft of their livelihood³,—excommunicated some of Henry's advisers, Feb. 1075, and boldly struck at the rights of patrons by a decree against lay investitures: for lay hands to bestow the ring and pastoral staff, was sacrilegious impiety; and both the giver and the receiver were to be excommunicated⁴. This blow was well-aimed at a prince who, being immoral and arbitrary, could not firmly stand his ground; and as the quarrel grew fiercer, it was followed up by citing him to Rome, to answer charges brought by his disaffected subjects. Henry, enraged, called a council at Worms, which declared that Gregory could not lawfully be pope, Jan. 1076; but Gregory, in a council at Rome (in the first week of Lent⁵), retaliated by excommunicating him, and deposing him from his kingdoms of Germany and Italy, releasing Christian men from their oaths of allegiance to such a sovereign, and forbidding them to obey him any longer. In the beginning of the next winter, Henry, barefoot and shivering in an open court-yard of the castle of Canossa, had to wait for absolution three whole days before the Pope would condescend to see him⁶!

It had been better for the Pope had he been less vin-

³ When married priests were forbidden to administer the sacraments, many churches (especially in Germany) were left without ministers. The laity, on the whole, were against them; for celibacy was then looked upon as a high merit, and the more earnest and religious among the clergy were unmarried, and not a few of them monks.

⁴ Every kind of investiture from a layman was likewise forbidden in later councils, also held at Rome, Nov. 1078, and March 1080.

⁵ The preceding Christmas, the prefect *Cencius* had arrested him at mass; but Gregory had been rescued by the people, and his enemies driven out of the city.

⁶ The details of the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor will be given in the history of the German sovereigns.

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dictive. The crushed and fallen prince was goaded to renew the struggle, and the tide even turned in his favour: in vain did Gregory twice excommunicate him; in vain did he confirm the election of *Rodolf of Swabia*, the king set up by the rebels⁷. In a council at Brixen, in the Tyrol, June 1080, the deposition of the Pope was decreed by the German party, and *Guibert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, Henry's chancellor, enthroned as Clement III.; and though Gregory had, in Italy, a brave and devoted adherent in the great countess *Matilda of Tuscany* (the benefactress of the Holy See, on which she settled the reversion of her possessions⁸), Henry was at last let in by the citizens into Rome, which he had repeatedly assailed, and was therein crowned emperor in triumph by the antipope, March 1084. Gregory, whose unbending harshness had lost him the love of his people, was beset in the Mole of Adrian; but was rescued, in the month of May, by Robert Guiscard and his

⁷ He sent Rodolf a crown on which was the legend:—*Petra delis Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho*.

⁸ Matilda's possessions were immense; for her father Boniface, besides being created duke or marquis of Tuscany, was in his own right Count of Modena, Reggio, Mantua, Ferrara, Cremona, and lord of Canossa, and had Spoleto and the march of Ancona. Her first husband was the deformed *Godfrey V.*, duke of *Lower Lorraine*, the son of her step-father: he was mortally wounded by an assassin, Feb. 1076, and was succeeded in Brabant, and afterwards in Lower Lorraine (A.D. 1093), by his adopted nephew, the renowned crusader Godfrey of Bouillon, the son of his sister *Ida* and *Eustace II.*, count of *Boulogne*. Matilda, after having refused Robert, duke of Normandy, was again married to her kinsman *Welf* (subsequently Welf II. of Bavaria), who left her at the end of six years.

Of her vast possessions, the Pope only obtained Ancona and Spoleto, which were looked upon as her allodial property. Even these were long withheld. Innocent III. seized upon them, A.D. 1198, and afterwards gave Ancona in fief to the Marquis of Este. Romagna was conceded by Rodolf of Habsburg to the claims of Nicholas II., A.D. 1278.

Normans, at whose approach the Emperor withdrew⁹. The vengeance of the Pope's allies was fiend-like. Most of the ancient portion of the city was pitilessly sacked, and then burned,—it still lies desolate¹,—and many of the inhabitants were carried away into slavery. Under the protection of the Normans, Gregory went and settled at Salerno, where he died in the following year, May 1085. His last words were, "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile²."

A full twelvemonth after the death of Gregory, VICTOR III. (Desiderius, abbot of Monte-Cassino) was chosen to succeed him; and twelve months more elapsed before the new Pope would consent to be consecrated, May 1087. His death, Sept. 1087, speedily caused a fresh vacancy, which was filled, March 1088, by the election of the energetic Frenchman URBAN II. (Odo cardinal-bishop of Ostia.) Urban did not scruple to join with the Countess Matilda³ in abetting the Emperor's eldest son, *Conrad*,

⁹ Robert Guiscard and the Normans had been twice excommunicated on account of some lands in Campania, belonging to the Pope, which they had seized. But Gregory, being in want of friends, had since entered into close alliance with them, June 1080.

¹ Most of the inhabitants removed beyond the Capitol into the old Campus Martius, which forms the chief part of the modern city.

² As might be expected, Gregory was zealous for the doctrine of transubstantiation, a belief so well calculated to exalt the dignity of the priesthood. At a council held at Rome, Feb. 1079, Berenger's opinions were again solemnly condemned; and he had to make a fresh confession of error, which he retracted as soon as he had returned home. The last years of Berenger were spent in retirement. He died in communion with the church, Jan. 1088, being about ninety years of age.

³ This bold virago, when her territories were pillaged by the troops of Henry and the antipope, in the year 1092, had sternly replied to her suffering vassals, and even to the remonstrances of her divines, that she would sooner die than make peace with a heretic.

in his unnatural rebellion against his father (A.D. 1093): he also excommunicated Philip of France, his former sovereign, for bigamy, at the council of Clermont, where he proclaimed the First Crusade, and set all Europe on fire. The French crusaders, as they marched through Italy, drove the antipope from Rome, and took most of his fortresses; and Henry, unable to withstand the torrent which had burst upon him, was at length compelled to return to Germany (A.D. 1097). PASCHAL II. (Rainier), the next Pope, who was consecrated Aug. 1099, about thirteen months before the death of the luckless Guibert of Ravenna⁴, trod in the steps of Urban and Hildebrand. He successfully stirred up the Emperor's younger son, *Henry*, to break the most solemn oaths, and hurl his father from his throne; but he had little reason to pride himself on the wisdom of his wicked policy. Henry IV., indeed, died deposed and heart-broken, Aug. 1106; but his undutiful son, when once raised to power, would not give up the right of investiture, but turned against the Pope. In the year 1110, he determined to cross the Alps and settle the dispute; and, on his approach, the single-minded Paschal readily conceded that the prelates should give up the lands and regalian rights which they held of the Emperor, if the latter would renounce his claim to confer investiture. The clergy were filled with dismay; so that when Henry came to Rome to be crowned, Feb. 1115, and the Pope was called upon to make the promised decree, such an outcry was raised by the bishops and abbots of both parties, that the coronation could not be proceeded with. Henry, in a rage, seized upon the Pope and most of the cardinals in the church itself; and having

⁴ When Guibert died, Sept. 1100, three antipopes were set up, one after another, by his party, but were quickly overpowered. Two of these did not even reign a day.

had a narrow escape with his army from a sudden attack of the citizens, he led them away from Rome, and shut them up in different castles. In the beginning of April, Paschal was frightened into yielding up to Henry the investiture of the bishoprics and abbeys in his kingdoms, simony being strictly forbidden: he was to grant absolution to all who had adhered to his cause, and to pledge himself never to excommunicate him⁵. The treaty was not kept. When the newly-crowned emperor and his soldiers were gone home, the feeling against it was so strongly expressed⁶, that Paschal, though he shrank from breaking his word, had to convene a council at the Lateran (March 1116), and revoke what he had done.

When Henry again visited Italy, to secure the dominions of the countess Matilda, who had lately died⁷, he was well received at Rome, where he was crowned a second time, Easter 1117, by the faithless legate *Maurice Bourdin*, archbishop of *Braga*: the Pope himself, being at feud with some of the nobles, had been driven out of the city. Some months afterwards, when the aged Paschal had breathed his last (Jan. 1118), *Cencio Frangipane* and his faction arrayed themselves against GELASIUS II. (John of Gaëta); and, in March, the archbishop of Braga was set up as Gregory VIII., by Henry, whom he crowned once more on the Whit-Sunday following. Gelasius boldly excommunicated the Emperor and the antipope; but had to seek refuge in France, where he died the next year, Jan. 1119,

⁵ Henry was forthwith crowned at St. Peter's, the gates of the old city being closed: it was feared that the Romans would rush into the church and raise a fresh tumult.

⁶ The cardinals who had remained at Rome, and had not been forced to sign the treaty, actually made a decree in condemnation of the Pope and his bull.

⁷ She died, July 1116, having made peace with Henry in May 1111. Sismondi remarks that she only left the Holy See what she possessed *jure proprietario*.

and *Guy*, archbishop of *Vienne*², **CALIXTUS II.**, was chosen pope by the cardinals who had accompanied him. In the second year of his pontificate, Calixtus entered Rome in triumph, June 1120: the antipope fled to Sutri, and, after a siege of some months, fell into his power³, and was sent into a monastery. Peace was also restored to the church and the Empire, Sept. 1022, by the concordate at Worms; in which Henry agreed to give investiture by the sceptre, or straight staff, and not by the ring and crosier, and the Pope recovered all the privileges and possessions which had been taken from his see. The Emperor not only retained his feudal rights, but the election of bishops and abbots in Germany was to be in his presence, though without simony and compulsion; and, in disputed cases, he was to uphold the rightful party, the prelates of the province being his advisers¹.

A. D. 1124. **Honorius II.**

1130. **Innocent II.** *Anacletus* antipope.

1138. Death of *Anacletus*.

1139. Second General Council of Lateran; **Arnold of Brescia**.

The Pope taken prisoner by Roger of Sicily.

1143. **Celestin II.**

1144. **Lucius II.** The Senate re-established.

1145. **Lucius** mortally wounded. **Eugenius III.**

1146. **Arnold of Brescia** paramount at Rome.

1153. **Anastasius IV.**

1154. **Adrian IV.**

² Guy was the son of William I., the Great, count of Burgundy. *Adelaide*, the wife of Lewis the Fat, king of France, was the daughter of his sister *Gisela* and *Humbert II.* count of *Savoy*; and his brother Raymond, by his marriage with Donna *Urraca*, was father of *Alfonso VIII.* of Castille.

³ He was brought to Rome, April 1121, clad in a bloody sheepskin (instead of a scarlet cope), and riding on a camel with his face to the tail, which he held like a bridle.

¹ The next year, March 1123, Calixtus held a council at the Lateran, which is commonly called the Ninth General Council. This was the first council in the West styled General.

A. D. 1155. Arnold of Brescia put to death. War with Sicily (ends 1156).

1159. Alexander III. Victor (Octavian) antipope.

1164. Death of Victor; Paschal III. antipope.

1177. Frederic Barbarossa absolved by the Pope.

1178. The antipope submits.

1179. Third General Council of Lateran.

1181. Lucius III.

1185. Urban III.

1187. Gregory VIII. Clement III.

1191. Celestin III. Tusculum destroyed.

HONORIUS II. (Lambert, cardinal-bishop of Ostia), the successor of Calixtus, Dec. 1124, owed his election to the influence of the powerful family of the Frangipani¹. His death, Feb. 1130, was the signal for a contest between these and their rivals the Leone, who had formerly supported Bourdin against Gelasius. Before it was publicly known that the Pope had breathed his last, some of the cardinals of the Frangipani faction met and chose the deacon *Gregory*, INNOCENT II.; thus getting the start of their colleagues, a large majority of whom joined with the nobles in electing *Peter Leone*, who was consecrated as Anacletus. Unable to stand his ground against the wealth and popularity of Anacletus, Innocent II. fled to France, where he was received with the utmost veneration: his doubtful claims found a mighty advocacy in St. Bernard², and were

¹ One Theobald, who took the name of Celestin, had been elected, when *Robert Frangipane* interrupted the proceedings with the cry, "Lambert, bishop of Ostia, Pope."

² St. Bernard,—the last of the Fathers,—son of a lord in the neighbourhood of Dijon, was born A.D. 1091. In the year 1113, he entered into the monastery of Citeaux; and two years afterwards, he became abbot of the newly-founded Cistercian house at Clairvaux. He was the glory of the Cistercians, and a hundred and sixty convents owed their establishment to his wide-spread influence. He died abbot of Clairvaux, having refused the sees of Genoa, Chalons, Milan, and Rheims.

Paramount in the theological world, he procured, at the council of

recognized by most of the European kings, *St. David* of Scotland, and *Roger II.* of Sicily (the antipope's brother-in-law), being the only exceptions ⁴. In the spring of the year 1132, he returned to Italy; but though he had the aid of *Lothaire II.* of Germany, whom he crowned as emperor in the church of St. John Lateran ⁵, June 1133, he could not get a sure footing at Rome. He took up his

Sens, June 1140, the condemnation of the opinions held by Abelard with regard to the Holy Trinity.—Peter Abelard (*Abailard*), born near Nantes in the year 1079, the best scholar and subtlest logician of his day, had a fine intellect, but a narrow soul and a selfish heart. The idol of the schools,—those of Paris were first raised to their high reputation by his genius,—he put on the cowl of a monk at St. Denys, being not yet forty years of age, after he had been made a eunuch by the vengeance of the kinsmen of his gifted pupil *Eloïsa* (*Héloïse*): this woman, the niece of *Fulbert*, canon of Paris, he had seduced; and though he consented to marry her privately, he had prevailed upon her to deny that she was married. From his brother monks at St. Denys he soon fled into a solitude in the diocese of Troyes, where he built a rude chapel and hermitage, dedicated to the *Paraclete* (the Comforter), and where *Eloïsa* (who for love of him had taken the veil) likewise settled in a convent of which she was the abbess: thither three thousand earnest scholars came and gathered round him, dwelling in hastily-constructed sheds. He submitted to the censures of the council of Sens, and withdrew into the monastery of Cluny; but died not long afterwards, April 1142.

⁴ The antipope was accused of immorality. His origin was also much against him, his grandfather *Peter Leone*, the rich founder of his family, having been a converted Jew.

⁵ St. Peter's, where the emperors were usually crowned, was in the hands of his enemies.—The Pope compromised the dispute about the Countess Matilda's fiefs, by giving *Lothaire* investiture for the usufruct, on condition of a yearly payment of 100 marks. Henry the Proud, *Lothaire's* son-in-law, was to have the reversion, and was to do homage to the Pope. A picture was afterwards painted, which represented *Lothaire* on his knees, receiving the crown from the Pope, and the following inscription was placed beneath :—

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam !

abode at Pisa, until the second expedition of Lothaire enabled him to enter Rome in triumph, Sept. 1136 ; soon after which, the death of his rival (in the following January) led to the healing of the schism, *Gregory*, a cardinal who had been chosen pope with the name of Victor, being easily brought to resign ⁶. Innocent II. was afterwards taken prisoner, as he was waging war against Roger of Sicily, July 1139 ; and when he recovered his freedom, he had to abandon his allies in Southern Italy. He was succeeded, Sept. 1143, by CELESTIN II. (Guy, a native of Tuscany), who died in a few months, March 1144.

LUCIUS II. (Gerard of Bologna), the next pope, had a short but stormy reign. The Roman citizens, whose minds (already stirred by the late troubles) had been set on fire by the doctrines of *Arnold of Brescia* ⁷, rose against priestly rule ; established a senate of fifty-six members, to be chosen yearly by an annual body, to which each of the thirteen districts of the city sent ten delegates ; and, instead of a prefect, nominated by the Pope, raised up as Patrician, to preside over the commonwealth, *Jordan Leone*, the brother of the deceased antipope Anacletus. The Pope, who had the Frangipani on his side, and was further strengthened by an alliance with Roger of Sicily, would not give up his regalian rights. He boldly went, at the head of a train of priests and warriors, to drive the new senators from the Capitol ; but a shower of stones, hurled

⁶ May 1138. Innocent did not spare his money on the occasion.

⁷ Arnold of Brescia, the disciple of Abelard (whom he accompanied at the council of Sens), declaimed against the wealth and vices of the clergy, whom he would have stripped of their temporalities, and made to live on free alms. A decided republican, he overthrew the government of Brescia ; but being condemned by the general council held by Innocent II. in the Lateran, in 1139, he had been driven out of Italy, and forced to take refuge in Switzerland.

by the people, fell upon him like a hailstorm, and he died of the hurts some days afterwards, Feb. 1145. His successor, EUGENIUS III.—*Bernard of Pisa*, abbot of *St. Anastasius*, near Rome, and an old disciple of *St. Bernard*—had thrice to leave Rome, and was at one time in France, where the king and the nation welcomed him with their wonted zeal: in the meanwhile, the proscribed *Arnold of Brescia* had been called from his retreat in Switzerland by the “*Politicals*” (as the men of his school were termed), and was striving to revive the institutions of the old republic. Neither *Eugenius*, nor *ANASTASIUS II.* (*Conrad*, cardinal-bishop of *Sabino*),—who became pope, July 1153, and died in the following year, Dec. 1154,—could get rid of this thorn in the side of the papacy.

ADRIAN IV. (*Nicholas Breakspear*, cardinal-bishop of *Albano*), the only English pope, was more successful. He at once placed Rome under an interdict: and, at the approach of Easter, the people were so urgent to have their religious rites restored^a, that the senate thought it best to make peace by requesting *Arnold of Brescia* to go out of the city. *Arnold* sought shelter in the castle of a Campanian count, who was forced to give him up to the Pope's prefect, by *Frederic Barbarossa*, then on his march from Germany to be crowned emperor: he was forthwith brought back and hanged over a fire of faggots, and his ashes were thrown into the *Tiber*. Having thus wreaked his vengeance, *Adrian* went to the camp of *Frederic Barbarossa*; and there he haughtily refused to give the kiss of peace, until the king had submitted to hold the stirrup of his mule in the presence of the whole army^b. The senate

^a Interest as well as devotion had its weight with the Romans, as crowds of pilgrims would flock in to take part in the ceremonies and observances of the Holy Week.—Rome had never yet been subjected to an interdict.

^b Yet *Adrian*, when a youth, had begged his bread.—It had be-

also took upon itself to dictate conditions to Frederic, as if the Romans were still the masters of the world; but its deputation met with a stern rebuke; a body of horse was sent forward to secure the Leonine city; and the German sovereign was crowned by the Pope at St. Peter's, June 1155, an outbreak which followed being put down with much bloodshed. The rest of Adrian's pontificate was remarkable for the introduction into the church of the abuses of mandates, pluralities, and non-residence¹; for a war with *William I.* of Sicily, in which his want of moderation lost him much of what he had gained in the outset; for his grant of Ireland to *Henry II.* of England, in a bull which declared all islands to belong to St. Peter; and for his repeated disputes with Frederic Barbarossa, who was himself too fond of domineering to yield meekly to the pretensions of others².

came the custom for the Emperor to hold the Pope's stirrup when he mounted or dismounted; and likewise, in the former case, to lead his steed by the bridle about a stone's throw.

¹ Adrian seems, indeed, to have had a true English taste for jobbing. His *Mandats*, or requests to patrons to prefer his nominees, gave rise to the more peremptory commands of his successors, who would even anticipate vacancies by *provisions*, or grants of reversion (see Part III., p. 162, note 7).—*Reserves*, or the retaining the advowson of certain benefices as a perquisite, afterwards increased the papal patronage; and even as early as the thirteenth century, the preferments of all who chanced to die at Rome, being *vacantes in curia*, were claimed and disposed of by the Holy See. It was for the benefit of Italian courtiers, who had the lion's share of all this patronage, that the canons against pluralities and non-residence were dispensed with.

² In a remonstrance which two of Adrian's legates presented to Frederic at Besançon, Oct. 1157, great offence was given by a passage in which the Pope reminded the Emperor of the crown which he conferred upon him, and declared his willingness to bestow, if possible, "*majora beneficia*,"—ambiguous words which might mean "still greater benefits," or "still greater fiefs." One of the legates

When Adrian died, Sept. 1159, ALEXANDER III. (Roland³, the chancellor of the Roman church) was chosen by almost all the cardinals, and had the voice of the people on his side; but an opponent instantly started up in the person of *Octavian*, a man of high birth, who got a small fraction of the sacred college to nominate him, and was supported by the senate and the nobles as Victor III.⁴

Alexander was for a short time a prisoner in the hands of his foes; and though the people insisted upon his being set free, he was obliged to withdraw from Rome. The antipope, on the other hand, found an ally in Frederic Barbarossa; who now flattered himself that he could bring the papacy under his power, and accordingly called a council to meet at Pavia, before which each of the claimants was cited to appear. To the summons which was sent him, Alexander proudly refused obedience⁵; but Victor took care to come, and his election was confirmed, Feb. 1160, his contumacious rival being excommunicated. Nothing daunted by the sentence of the council, the Pope

had the boldness to say to the indignant German princes who were then assembled, "From whom then does the Emperor hold his crown, but from the Pope?" and he had a narrow escape from having his skull cloven asunder by the sword of Otho of Wittebach; but the Pope afterwards thought fit to explain, declaring that *beneficium* was used in the sense of *bonum factum*.

³ He was of the Siennese house of *Bandinelli*, and was one of the two legates who had lately bearded Frederic at Besançon.

⁴ Octavian entered the church and tore from Alexander's shoulders the scarlet cope which was the investiture of the pope-elect. This being rescued from him, a cope was produced by one of his adherents, which in his hurry he put on the back part foremost.

⁵ Christ, he said, had given to St. Peter, and through him to the Roman church, the privilege of judging the causes of all churches, and of being subject to be judged by no one. Yet the disputed elections of Pope *Boniface I.* (A.D. 418), and of Pope *Symmachus* (A.D. 498), had been submitted to the decision of the Emperor *Honorius*, and of the Arian Ostrogoth *Theodoric*.

excommunicated the Emperor in his turn: his title was acknowledged by Lewis VII. of France, Henry II. of England, and William I. of Sicily; and, what was of no small advantage, his cause was that of Italian freedom, which Frederic was trying to crush.

When the dreadful fate of Milan⁶ had filled all Italy with dismay, March 1162, the Pope hastened across the Alps to seek a safer home in France; and, while he was dwelling in that country, the tidings reached him that Victor had died at Lucca, April 1164, and that the schismatics had enthroned cardinal *Guy of Crema* as Paschal III. Towards the end of the year 1265, he returned to Rome, where Frederic besieged him, July 1167, when the citizens had attempted to reduce Tusculum, and had been routed by the Germans with great loss. The Emperor offered fair terms to the Romans, provided that the Pope would abdicate; in which case, the antipope was also to resign: but Alexander, though the people besought him, would not hear of laying down his dignity;—he fled away in disguise, lest he should be forced to act against his wishes; and found a refuge in Benevento, where he was protected by William II., the new king of Sicily. When he was gone, the Romans made their peace with the Emperor⁷, who entered the city with the antipope, and was crowned a second time.

Frederic's triumph did not last. In the beginning of August, a virulent marsh-fever had broken out among the Germans encamped near Rome; and one of the finest of armies quickly dwindled into a helpless remnant, the mere shadow of its former strength. Suddenly bereft of his

⁶ The punishment of Milan has been already described. See p. 302.

⁷ Alexander's adherents, the *Frangipani*, who had fortified themselves in the Coliseum, did not submit to the Germans like their fellow-citizens.

best statesmen and his bravest warriors ; obliged to retreat when in the height of success ; assailed on every side by the Lombards, who had lately banded themselves together in a league against him, the Emperor was now less able than ever to gain any victory over Alexander, who, from his retreat at Benevento, had excommunicated him afresh, and had absolved his subjects from their allegiance*. In the meanwhile, the antipope was succeeded (Sept. 1168) by *John*, abbot of *Strume*, in Hungary, who assumed the name of Calixtus III. and resided at Viterbo. At length, when his army had been overthrown at Legnano, May 1176, Frederic's pride gave way : he agreed to renounce the schism ; and at Venice he was reconciled to Alexander, and received absolution, June 1177.

In the following year, on the third Sunday in Lent, the aged pope returned to Rome at the invitation of the citizens ; who went out to meet him with banners, and crowns, and olive-branches. Some months afterwards, Aug. 1178, John of Strume came and threw himself at his feet, and was graciously pardoned ; so that the expiring embers of the schism were easily trodden out, notwithstanding a feeble attempt which was made to rekindle them*.

For the healing of the disorders which had sprung up during the late schism, the Third General Council of Lateran was convened, March 1179¹⁰. The decree by

* Alexander had once gone so far as to make Manuel Comnenus an offer of re-uniting the Western to the Eastern Empire.

⁹ A certain *Lando Sitino*, one of the Frangipani, was elected by some malcontents as Innocent III., Sept. 1178. A brother of the late antipope Victor gave him a fortress near Rome ; but he fell into the hands of Alexander, about two years afterwards, and was imprisoned in a monastery for life.

¹⁰ All bishops and great abbots were summoned to attend it ; but many were let off on paying a sum of money :—the English stood on ancient custom, and only sent four bishops. The Roman magistrates sat in the council with the Pope and cardinals on a raised

which it gave the election of a pope to a majority of at least two-thirds of the cardinals (so as to prevent all tumultuous and clandestine attempts to set up antipopes), was carried into effect when Alexander's eventful life ended¹¹, Aug. 1181, and the aged LUCIUS III. (Ubaldo of Lucca, cardinal-bishop of Ostia) was raised to his throne. Lucius, who found it quite impossible to live in Rome, was succeeded, Nov. 1185, by URBAN III. (Hubert Crivelli, archbishop of Milan)¹; a pope who died of grief, Oct. 1187, at the tidings that Jerusalem, the holy city, had fallen into the hands of the infidels. GREGORY VIII. (Cardinal Albert of Benevento), who next followed, hardly reigned two months.

CLEMENT III. (Paulino Scolari, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina), elected at Pisa, Dec. 1187, returned to Rome, which was his birth-place; having agreed to confirm the senate in its privileges, and to abandon the people of Tusculum and Tivoli, who had been long at feud with the Romans. His successor CELESTIN III. (Hyacinth Bobocardo)—he was consecrated, April 1191, after having been a cardinal-deacon nearly sixty-five years—enabled these to wreak their vengeance on Tusculum; which was razed to the ground by its foes, when they had hacked, and maimed, and butchered most of the wretched inhabitants².

seat. Besides various ecclesiastical reforms, decrees were made against tournaments, usury, bandit-soldiers (such as the Brabançons, Basquese, Navarrese, Arragonese, and the Cotterels and Routiers, who were a medley of different nations), and against the Albigenses and other sects to which the corruptions of the church had given birth.

¹¹ This able and learned pope deprived the metropolitans of the right of canonizing saints; which had been exercised by the archbishop of Rouen in the case of *Walter*, abbot of Pontoise, so late as the year 1153.

¹ He kept his archbishopric to the day of his death.

² Tusculum had been put into his power by the Emperor Henry VI.,

Shortly after this event, in the year 1192, a foreign magistrate who held his power for a limited period, was placed with the title of Senator in the Capitol, to supersede the senate, a body which had been found too unwieldy to keep the lawless nobles effectually in check:—the office still remains, though it has sunk into insignificance. It was also in the pontificate of Celestin III., that the communion began to be administered in churches to the laity in only one kind.

A. D. 1198. Innocent III. Growth of the temporal power of the papacy. Tuscan League.

1208. *Crusade against the Albigenses.*

1215. Fourth Council of Lateran.

1216. Honorius III. Dominican order confirmed.

1223. Franciscan order confirmed.

1226. The Lombard League revived.

1227. Gregory IX.

1241. Celestin IV.—The papal see vacant.

1243. Innocent IV.

1245. *First General Council of Lyons*; Frederic II. deposed.

1252. Brancalion senator of Rome.

1254. Alexander IV.

1258. Death of Brancalion.

1261. Urban IV.

1265. Clement IV. (died 1268.—The papal see vacant.)

1271. Gregory X.

1274. Second General Council of Lyons.

1276. Innocent V., Adrian V., John XXI.

1277. Nicholas III. (died 1280.)

1281. Martin IV.

1285. Honorius IV. (died 1287.)

1288. Nicholas IV. (died 1292.—The papal see vacant.)

1294. Celestin V.—Celestin abdicates; Boniface VIII.

When Celestin III. died, Jan. 1298, INNOCENT III.

whom he had just crowned. Some of those who escaped, built huts in the neighbourhood with boughs (*con frasche*); which is said to have been the origin of the town of Frascati.

(Lothair, a cardinal-deacon of the family of the counts of Segni) began his memorable reign. In the prime of life,—he was not more than thirty-seven years old,—of noble birth, of commanding talent, and gifted with the intense energy of ambition, when it is blended with religious zeal; it was his work to carry out the bold policy of Hildebrand, and to raise the power of the papacy to its noon-day height. The confusion which had distracted the Empire after the death of Henry VI., gave him golden opportunities. The Pope was from henceforth a sovereign prince. The city Prefect, who up to this time had been appointed by the emperors, took an oath of fealty to Innocent and received investiture from his hands; the papal rule was now extended over the places which the Romans had subdued³, and a large portion of the disputed succession of the countess Matilda was recovered⁴; the Tuscan towns were formed into a league, which became an important bulwark to the territory and independence of the Holy See⁵; and at last, even the Senator of Rome was brought under control, and made to swear that he would uphold the Pope and his rights to the utmost. Claiming to be

³ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romans had to reduce or destroy the barons and the towns in their neighbourhood. Thus Porto and Ostia, the keys of the Tiber, are still desolate; and Albanum, Tusculum (Frascati), Præneste (Palestrina), and Tibur (Tivoli), have greatly fallen away. One is forcibly reminded of the petty wars in the infancy of Rome.

⁴ See p. 338, note 8. Henry had given to his German follower *Marquard* the duchy of Romagna and the marquisate of Ancona; and to Conrad of Swabia, the duchy of Spoleto. After his death, most of the towns readily opened their gates to the Pope, hoping to find more liberty under his government.

⁵ The towns of Tuscany (which Henry had granted as a fief to his brother Philip of Swabia) were more able to stand alone against their foreign masters, and did not become directly subject to the Pope.

judge wherever sin had been committed, the haughty pontiff set himself up as the master of Christian princes⁶:—Otho IV., whom he crowned emperor; the young King of Sicily, his ward; the Kings of Scandinavia, of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Portugal, Arragon, Leon, France, and England (which last three countries were placed under interdicts); and for a while,—when the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins had shaken the Greek Church, and the schism between the East and West seemed about to be healed,—those of Armenia and Bulgaria, overawed by his spiritual thunders, had to yield obedience to his admonitions. *Peter II.* of Arragon and *John* of England surrendered up their kingdoms, and engaged to hold them as his vassals; Philip-Augustus, brave, firm, wise, and powerful, tried to set him at defiance, but was unable to cope with him. Yet all this glory has its dark side. To Innocent III., the horrible system of the inquisition owes its first beginning⁷; and by him crusades were preached, not only against the Moslems, but also against the heathens of Livonia and the Albigensian heretics of southern France⁸. Much political weight did he likewise gain by the detestable practice of annulling the obligations of oaths and covenants, and by dispensing with the canonical impediments to marriage; for princes kept on good terms with Rome, that they might get themselves absolved from inconvenient promises, and that they might be allowed to

⁶ Innocent was the author of the famous comparison of the spiritual power to the sun, "the greater light," and of the temporal power to the moon, "the lesser light."

⁷ He sent two Cistercian monks into Narbonne, in the first year of his pontificate, to inquire into the heresies prevailing there. They were followed, A. D. 1203, by St. Dominic, the friars of whose order were the hateful inquisitors of the faith.

⁸ The heretics of the age, and the manner in which they were persecuted, will be described in the history of the French kings.

have wives who were within the forbidden degrees of kindred⁹. And his encroachments and exactions, from which even the clergy began to suffer, tended to alienate men's minds against a domination which was already felt to be exorbitant¹. Innocent himself lived to see his ex-communications set at nought, when he took the part of King John against the English barons, and tried to hinder Prince Lewis of France from coming over to seize the crown which had been offered him. His health was then declining. Full of grief and rage, he breathed his last, July 1216.

Not many months before his decease, Innocent had called together the Fourth General Council of Lateran, Nov. 1215. In this assembly, at which the ambassadors of several princes were present to give their consent to the decisions of the prelates, the heresies of the age were solemnly condemned: inquisition was to be made after heretics, and, if obstinate, they were to be handed over to the secular power for punishment². The doctrine of the Eucharist was irrevocably defined by the adoption of the famous word "transubstantiated;" and it was now ren-

⁹ Royal houses have always been much connected by inter-marriages, and thus were often in want of dispensations.

¹ The extent of ecclesiastical usurpation over the civil power was enormous. Clerks, to the seventh and lowest grade, widows and orphans, pilgrims and strangers, the poor, and all who had vowed to go on any crusade, were not to be sued before lay tribunals; and breaches of contract, matrimonial cases, wills (and in England and Castille, perjury, sacrilege, usury, incest, and adultery), were monopolized by the ecclesiastical courts. Bishops had prisons in which they confined lay offenders, clerks being shut up in monasteries. Innocent III. even legitimated bastards, on the plea that papal dispensations could enable such persons to be ordained.

² The unfortunate count of Thoulouse (Raymond VI.) now petitioned, but in vain, to have the dominions restored which the Pope's crusaders had taken from him for favouring the Albigenses.

dered compulsory to confess to a priest, at least once a year. Marriages of persons beyond the fourth degree (or third-cousinship) were to be allowed; which was a great boon to society, the old rule, which included as far as the seventh degree, having been the cause of much confusion and misery³. And to strengthen the church, which had lost ground owing to its abuses, a number of useful reforms were ordered, most of which, however, were imperfectly carried out.

A new set of champions had lately started up to defend the papal supremacy. These were the Mendicant Friars. The old-fashioned monks had fallen in estimation,—wealth had made them proud, slothful, and wanton,—and a cry had been raised in favour of evangelical poverty, the hearts of the people having been estranged from a richly endowed clergy: it was believed that men who had neither goods nor lands, and who lived by alms alone, would be earnest and self-denying. The two great leaders of this movement in the church were the fiery Spaniard, *St. Dominic*, who gloried in the title of Inquisitor, and was foremost in preaching the crusade against the unhappy Albigenses; and the meek, but half-crazed, Italian, *St. Francis of Assisa*, whose more kindly spirit sought only to win souls by persuasion. Their followers, the Dominicans or Friars Preachers (to whom the Inquisition was afterwards entrusted), and the Franciscans or Friars Minors, quickly gained vast influence by their unwearied activity, and their attractive preaching: new life was infused into a worn-out system; and the tottering authority of Rome was saved. But, after a while, owing to their degeneracy, the remedy

³ Several impediments, such as the affinity between a widower and the relations of his bride's first husband, were also swept away. It was owing to such refinements that illegal marriages had often unwittingly contracted.

became almost as bad as the disease. Notwithstanding their vows of poverty, the Mendicants were notorious for their rapacity; their wandering habits favoured the irregularities of the immoral; and their custom of decrying the rest of the clergy, as well as their privilege of hearing confessions instead of the parish priests⁴, and their exemption from episcopal control, irretrievably injured the discipline of the Church. Fresh swarms arose of these holy beggars; but in the Second Council of Lyons (A.D. 1274), it was thought necessary to confine the institution to the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians, or Hermits of St. Augustine⁵. The members of these four orders were called Friars, in contradistinction to the Benedictine Monks and the Augustine Canons⁶.

⁴ The restraint of confession to a stranger was less; and the spirit of competition made the confessor more lenient.

⁵ *This rule, however, was often broken.*

⁶ THE MONASTIC ORDERS.—As early as the Third Century, an Egyptian youth named *Paul* is said to have been the first hermit, having found a home in the wilderness, to which he had fled during the persecution of Decius (A.D. 250). His example was not lost upon the *ascetics*,—the mischievous distinction had arisen between ascetics (men under rigid training) and vulgar Christians,—and in the beginning of the next century, the desert was peopled with colonies of solitaries, who were called Hermits, Monks, and Anchorites (*Anachorats*). A sort of brotherhood was formed among them, A.D. 305, by *St. Anthony*; who, after a long abode in the tombs and in a ruined tower, had advanced still further into the dreary wild, whither he was tracked by crowds of disciples whom he also induced to bury themselves alive in seclusion. Before many years were over, the recluses divided into two classes; the *anchorites* or solitaries, and the *cœnobites*, who lived together under a common discipline: these last owed their organization to *St. Pachomius*, the founder of numerous communities of both sexes in the Thebais; who gave them a rule which was pretended to have been received from an angel. They had to work as a duty, tilling the ground to supply their wants, or making such easy things as mats, baskets, and wooden sandals for sale; they bound themselves to the most blind obedience to their superiors, even to the

HONORIUS III. (Cencio Savelli, a Roman cardinal-priest), Innocent's successor, confirmed the rule of St. Dominic,

loss of life and limb ; and they lived upon a scanty pittance of bread, and drank nothing but water. As they usually dreamed away their lives,—except indeed in times of great calamity, when the faith was in danger ; for then they nobly came forward to bear the burthen and heat of the day,—they would often mistake the fancies of a overwrought brain for realities : hence the first origin of the grotesque fables, such as the temptations of St. Anthony, which were afterwards so endlessly multiplied by the love of the marvellous and by interested fraud, that monkish lore became a tissue of lying legends.

Monkery spread rapidly from its cradle in the Thebais throughout the East. In such estimation was it held, that even the ambitious hastened to renounce the world, when hermits were consulted by emperors, and forced by the people into episcopal thrones. Dreadful austerities were practised ; more especially in Syria, where *St. Hilaria*, Anthony's youthful admirer, had betaken himself to a dreary cell on a sandy beach between the sea and a swamp, near Gaza. Hair shirts and self-scourgings were common among the monks in that country ; and one aspiring genius, *St. Simeon Stylites*, who died A.D. 459, actually braved the summer's heat and the winter's cold, day and night, for thirty-seven years, on the top of a pillar which at last was raised to the height of sixty feet from the ground. In Pontus, *St. Basil*, the light of the Eastern Church, lived for a while as a recluse, about ten years before he became archbishop of Cæsarea (A.D. 360) ; and gave laws to the monasteries which sprang up on the shores of the Black Sea. His rule, which is gathered from his work on Ascetics, is still followed by the Eastern monks, from whom the higher clergy are invariably chosen.

Nor was the West far behindhand. In the year 341, monasticism was introduced into Rome by St. Athanasius, then an exile from his see ; and about the year 370, it was established in Gaul by *St. Martin*, bishop of *Tours*, a Pannonian by birth, who had been a soldier and a hermit. The spirit of asceticism, however, lost much of its strictness in Europe, monks being occasionally allowed to have wine and flesh at their repasts ; and a great deal of irregularity existed, until *St. Benedict* of Nursia (who, in the year 529, founded the celebrated monastery of Monte-Cassino in Samnium) undertook the office of law-giver. His rule was at length adopted by all the Western monks, as

Dec. 1216, and that of St. Francis, Nov. 1223. His pontificate was also remarkable for the revival of the

that of St. Basil had been by most of their Eastern brethren.—Benedict was most probably a layman, as very few of the monks as yet were priests.

THE BENEDICTINES were highly favoured by Pope Gregory the Great, and they gloriously distinguished themselves by their zeal and success in converting the heathen : they also kept the embers of learning alive during the dark ages, and saved not a few of the classics from destruction. Yet in the ninth century their discipline was already much relaxed ; nor could the constitutions of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (held under the auspices of Lewis the Debonair, June 817), which were chiefly drawn up by the abbot *St. Benedict of Aniano*, and are deemed almost as binding as the original rule, long avail to check the progress of corruption. In the tenth century, however, the zeal of reformers began to graft upon the order several new branches, in which discipline would flourish for a while, until it was killed by sloth, and the evil effects of too much wealth : of these offshoots from the parent stock, three are pre-eminent for their antiquity, and the number of houses which belonged to them. The CLUNIAN monks, the first-fruits of the reform, were so named from the abbey of Cluny, founded in the diocese of Mâcon, Sept. 910. By *St. Odo*, the second of its abbots (Jan. 926), their institutions were perfected ; and it was not until after the death of the abbot *St. Peter the Venerable* (Peter Maurice), Dec. 1156, that their reputation, which the latter had upheld against the attacks of St. Bernard, seriously declined. The CISTERCIANS had for their founder *St. Robert*, the abbot of *Molesme* in Burgundy ; who, being unable to revive discipline in his own convent, withdrew with twenty monks into a wild waste at Cîteaux (Citeaux), in the diocese of Châlons, March 1098, and established the parent society of the White Monks, as they were called, from the dress which they wore in church, the old Benedictines being the Black Monks : their monasteries were built in lonely places, and always dedicated to the Virgin. Robert had to return to his former abbey, at the earnest prayer of those whom he had left ; but his loss was afterwards more than compensated to the infant community by the accession of St. Bernard. (See p. 343, note 3.) The CARTHUSIANS were the rigid disciples of *St. Bruno* of Cologne, who had founded the Chartreux (of which Charter-House is an English corruption) in a wilderness near

Lombard League under his protection, March 1226. The next pope, GREGORY IX. (Hugolin, cardinal-bishop of

Grenoble, June 1084 : they wore hair shirts, never tasted flesh, and were hardly allowed to take any exercise. Their upper garment was black, and the rest of their clothing white.—Monks, in many convents, were freed by the Pope from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, to their great detriment. The General Chapter of an order which had become lax, might indeed be driven to make regulations to check abuses ; but there was no supervision from without to enforce them.

CANONS were the cathedral and collegiate clergy ; which communities, owing to the influence and authority of St. Augustine of Hippo, and other leading bishops, closely copied the monastic customs. A rule, composed for them by *St. Chrodegang* (a bishop of Metz who flourished in the year 765), was the model of the more famous one, compiled by *Amalarius*, archdeacon of *Metz*, and promulgated by the bishops assembled at a council at Aix-la-Chapelle by Lewis the Debonair, Sept. 816 ; which, after that Emperor's death, gradually fell into disuse, but was revived in many places towards the end of the tenth century. They were to live at a common table, and to sleep in the same dormitory ; but, unlike the monks, they were allowed to have property of their own, and might enjoy separate prebends : the wealth of the chapters, and the privilege which they usurped of electing bishops, attracted into them the younger sons of nobles ; especially in Germany, where those whose birth was inferior were excluded. In the eleventh century, however, at the instigation of the celebrated Peter Damiani, the popes Nicholas II. and Alexander II., in the councils held at Rome in 1059 and 1063, enjoined that canons should have their goods in common :—these decrees were only partially obeyed, and thus canons were henceforth divided into *Regular* and *Secular*. The former began to be also called the AUGUSTINE CANONS (Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine), in the year 1139 ; the Second Council of Lateran having directed that they should all receive a rule derived from one of the epistles of that Father. Their most common dress is a black cap and cassock, and a white rochet ; but the strict order of the PRÆMONSTRATENSES, founded at Premontre in Picardy, by *St. Norbert* (afterwards archbishop of Magdeburg), were clothed all in white, and known as the White Canons.

The members of the four MENDICANT ORDERS were commonly

Ostia, and cousin of Innocent III.), who was crowned with unwonted magnificence, March 1227, had, from the

known in England as the Black Friars, the Grey Friars, the White Friars, and the Austin Friars. The first of these, the DOMINICANS,—who in France were called *Jacobins*, from their ancient convent in the Rue St. Jacques at Paris, the refectory of which, being used by a club of frantic revolutionists when the friars had been cast out, gave the name its modern political meaning,—had in the beginning (A.D. 1215), the rule and the attire of the canons of St. Augustine ; but in the year 1219, they received institutions of their own, and put on a white dress, over which, when they went out, they wore a black garment. Their founder, Dominic de Guzman, was of noble birth, and sub-prior of the canons regular of Osma in Castille. He had accompanied his prior and diocesan, *Diego de Azebez*, the bishop of *Osma*, into Languedoc ; and when that prelate resolved to go on foot, in humble guise, to preach to the heretics, he followed his example, A.D. 1206 : thus he came to devote himself to the cause of the Pope and his church, employing force and argument with equal readiness, and arraying a host of banded disciples in its support. He died in his fifty-second year, Aug. 1221. The founder of the FRANCISCANS, Francis of Assisi,—his real name was John Bernardon ; but he got that of Francis (the Frenchman) from his quickness in learning French,—was the son of a merchant, and was early remarkable for his love for the poor. At the age of twenty-five, he renounced his home and his inheritance ; and about three years afterwards (A.D. 1209), on hearing the ninth and tenth verses of St. Matthew, chapter x., read at mass, he threw away his shoes, wallet, staff, and what little money he had left : he also changed his leathern girdle for a rope, the distinctive badge of his order, the nucleus of which was now formed. In labours, he was unwearied. Even Syria and Egypt were visited by him, in the train of the Crusaders. About two years before his death, which took place in October 1226, he is fabled to have miraculously received the *stigmata* or five wounds of Christ. His order, like that of St. Benedict, was divided into many rival sections by the reforms to which the decay of discipline had given rise. In spite of the Will which he had left behind him, deviations from the strict letter of his institutions had been sanctioned by Gregory IX. and other popes ; so that in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the indignation of the *Fatricelli* (the rigid Franciscans) broke out in a serious schism, it being held that the right of pro-

beginning of his reign, a fierce quarrel with the Emperor Frederic II., against whom he hurled a series of excom-

munications. Poverty in things consumable was incompatible with absolute poverty. John XXII. tried to put down the fanatics by a cruel persecution (A.D. 1318) : but the breach was not to be healed. At last, in the year 1517, *Leo X.*, despairing of uniting the Franciscans, established the distinction of the *Observantins*, which included the Cordeliers, Recollects, and other reformed branches, and of the less strict *Conventuals*.—Besides his friars, and the *Poor Ladies* or *Poor Clares* of his friend *St. Clara* (who had eloped from her home to become a nun), *St. Francis* established a third order, for the benefit of those who, being married, or of high rank, could not renounce the world : these were the *Tertiaries* or *Penitents*, to whom *St. Lewis* of France, and other less sanctified personages, such as the Emperor *Charles IV.* and *Anne* of *Austria*, belonged. *Nicholas IV.*, in the year 1280, even sanctioned the formation of a regular monastic society, under the title of the Penitent Religious of the Third Order of *St. Francis*.

The Dominicans, in doctrine, were fatalists ; while the Franciscans were for free will. Both of them, in the thirteenth century, had already produced some of the greatest doctors in the schools. The Dominicans, who had a memorable feud with the university of Paris, could boast of *Albertus Magnus*, afterwards bishop of *Ratisbon*, and of his yet more renowned pupil, the “angelic” *St. Thomas Aquinas* (of Aquino in Campania) ; while the “seraphic” *St. Bonaventure*, cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*, *Alexander Alesius* (of Hales in Gloucestershire), and *Duns Scotus* (John Scot of Dunse), the “subtle” doctor who broached the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, upheld the reputation of the Franciscans.

The CARMELITES, or hermits of our Lady of Mount Carmel, modestly claimed the prophet *Elias* for their founder ; but owed their real origin to *Berthold* of Calabria, who, in the latter part of the twelfth century, built an hermitage and chapel on Mount Carmel. About the year 1209, *Albert*, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, gave the hermits a rule, which had afterwards the approval of *Honorius IV.*, Jan. 1286. Some of these friars were brought over into Europe by *St. Lewis* on his return from his first crusade : their upper garment was as yet only striped lengthways with white, instead of being altogether white as in later days. This striped dress attracted ridicule. They had already got *Innocent IV.* to soften the harshness of their rule ; and in the fifteenth century, the

munications: he also offended his own subjects by his haughtiness, and at one time was driven out of Rome. He died, Aug. 1241, when nearly a hundred years old; and after some delay, the old and infirm CELESTIN IV. (Geoffrey de Castiglione, cardinal-bishop of Sabino), a relaxation was confirmed by Eugenius IV.: but in the year 1568, *St. Theresa*, a Spanish virgin, caused a great revival of austerity in many of the friaries and nunneries of the order, which was consequently divided into the Barefoot and Mitigated Carmelites by a bull of Pope Gregory XIII., June 1580.

The AUGUSTINIANS (or hermits of St. Augustine) were formally established as an order under a general of their own,—each of the mendicant bodies had its general,—March 1256; when Alexander IV. united several communities of hermits together. They were famed for their skill as logicians; but their greatest man was *Martin Luther*, who renounced them.

All the Western orders of Monks and Friars, and even the Canons, had Converse or Lay Brothers who, being illiterate, were employed as drudges: the author of this innovation, which was as late as the middle of the eleventh century, was the Benedictine *St. John Gualbert*, by whom the abbey of Vallombrosa was founded.

As the monastic life had always been eagerly embraced by female zeal, every rule had its convents of NUNS and CANONESSES belonging to it. These societies had likewise the distinction between the Sisters Professed and Converse.—There also sprang up a number of Brotherhoods, and Sisterhoods, and Secular Congregations; especially after the Reformation.

If Christians are indeed to be “the salt of the earth,” the recluse who leaves society to its corruption, and thinks but of saving his own soul, is no true soldier of the cross. And to such an extreme has the duty of mortifying the flesh been carried by the inmates of cells and cloisters,—especially by the mendicants,—that (instead of cleanliness being prized next to godliness) the nastiest filth has been held to be most in keeping with a state of holiness. Yet, like the world which they left, there was much good as well as evil among those who had taken the three famous vows of *poverty, chastity, and obedience*; and for such work as the conversion of the heathen, the instruction of youth in large masses, the care of the sick in hospitals, and the management of institutions for reforming the depraved, many useful hints might be derived from their system of discipline.

Milanese, was elected to a dignity which he never lived to hold. At the end of sixteen days,—in the middle of November,—his death caused a fresh vacancy; which lasted until June 1243, when INNOCENT IV. (Sinibald), who was of the noble Genoese house of Fieschi and had hitherto been a staunch friend of the Emperor, was nominated by his fellow-cardinals. These dignitaries then happened to be very few in number; so that they were the heads of rival factions, and could not easily be brought to agree in the choice of a master⁷.

Frederic II. had too much knowledge of the world to reckon on the friendship of the new pope⁸. A treaty of peace was indeed concluded, and the Emperor even proposed to marry his son to the Pope's niece: but Innocent, who had reason to mistrust his sincerity, and was in dread

⁷ Frederic had taken advantage of their conduct to revile them as "sons of Belial," and to plunder their property; and St. Lewis indignantly threatened that the French would set up a pope of their own,—a privilege which he said had been granted by St. Clement to "St. Denys, the Apostle of the Western nations."

Though originally there had been seven cardinal-bishops,—of Ostia, Porto, Albanum, Tusculum, Præneste, the Sabines, and Velitræ (which in the twelfth century was united to Ostia),—besides the cardinal-priests of the twenty-eight parish churches of Rome, and the seven deacons of the seven hospitals; the College, now that it had become a senate of ecclesiastical princes, had seldom more than twenty or twenty-five members, and sometimes even as few as eight or nine. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was much enlarged by Leo X.; and by the bull of *Sixtus V.*, Dec. 1586, it was settled that its complement should be the six bishops (who no longer lord it over the rest), fifty priests, and fourteen deacons. A few vacancies, however, are commonly left unfilled.

⁸ He was indiscreet enough to say, when he heard of his elevation, "We had in him a friend while he was cardinal: we lose him, and get an enemy in him, as Pope." Perhaps it was owing to his underhand and double-dealing behaviour, and his attempt to get the fortified Coliseum from the Frangipani, so as to beard the Pope in his own capital, that his forebodings became true.

of being seized by his myrmidons, fled in disguise to the sea-coast, where a powerful fleet (sent by his countrymen) awaited him ; and escaped to Genoa, his native city, June 1244. From Genoa, the fugitive pontiff went to Lyons⁹ ; and there,—in an ever-memorable General-Council, at which Baldwin, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and one hundred and forty bishops were present¹,—in the boldest language of papal usurpation, he excommunicated Frederic ; on whom he laid the whole blame of having divided the Christian world, and paved the way for the successes of the schismatical Greeks, and the invasions of the Tartar hordes : he also declared him to be deposed from the Empire and from the crown of Sicily, commanding the German electors to choose another sovereign, and placing the forfeited kingdom at his own disposal, July 1245. In the following year, a crusade was set on foot against the Emperor, the rest of whose life was spent in a disheartening struggle with his revolted subjects. Nor was the Pope's wrath appeased, even when his enemy had gone down to his grave, Dec. 1250 :—" Let the heavens rejoice," said he, " and let the earth be glad." He then returned to Italy in triumph, while his friars, with redoubled zeal, went forth in swarms to preach the crusade against Frederic's son *Conrad* ; and he bethought himself of bestowing the two Sicilies as a fief on some prince who should undertake to conquer them². The death, how-

⁹ Lyons did not then belong to France : it was a fief, held by its archbishop, of the Empire.—Both St. Lewis of France and Henry III. of England had declined to receive the Pope.

¹ It was in this council, that it was ordered that the cardinals should wear the well-known red hat.

² Richard, earl of Cornwall, and Edmund Crouchback, the brother and the son of Henry III., were the princes whom the Pope had in view. Overtures were also made him by Charles, count of Anjou, St. Lewis' brother.

ever, of Conrad, May 1254, encouraged him to try and seize these territories for himself. With an army to support him, and the enemy's country in a state of revolt, he met, at first, with little opposition: even *Manfred*, the legitimated son of Frederic II. and the mainstay of the house of Swabia, came and submitted to him. But that high-spirited prince was provoked to take up arms again; by his daring achievements, the invading troops were thrown into confusion; and just as the tide of fortune was turning, Innocent IV. lay dead at Naples, Dec. 1254, leaving him master of the field.

ALEXANDER IV. (Renaldo, cardinal-bishop of Ostia), who was of the family of the counts of Segni³, published a crusade against Manfred, and granted the investiture of Sicily, Nov. 1255, to *Edmund Crouchback*, the son of Henry III. of England: but he had neither the talent nor the success of his predecessor. Having excommunicated the great senator *Brancaleon*, then the dictator of Rome⁴,

³ He was the nephew of Gregory IX., and a kinsman of Innocent III.

⁴ Brancaleon (Brancaleone d'Andalo), count of Casalecchio, a native of Bologna, was called to be senator by the Roman citizens, towards the end of the year 1252; that he might put down the lawlessness of the nobles, which had risen to an unbearable height during the long absence of Innocent IV. at Lyons. It was agreed that he should hold his power for at least three years; and that thirty of the very noblest Roman youths should be sent to Bologna, as hostages for his safety. He spared no criminal, whether high or low: he would storm the fortified houses of those gentry who sallied forth, almost nightly, to pillage shops or to seize rich captives; and he would hang the patrician robbers from the windows of their own palaces. Innocent IV.—who had taken up his abode at Assisi, after his return to Italy—was even compelled by him to reside at Rome. The jealousy, however, which he had foreseen, caused him to be deposed and thrown into prison: but his wife and his Bolognese countrymen would not give up the hostages, and the fickle Romans were forced to release him. After a while, they were glad to reinstate him in

May 1257, he was obliged to retire to Viterbo, where he ended his days. There was a vacancy of more than three months, after his decease; which was terminated, Aug. 1261, by the election of URBAN IV. (James Pantaleon, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, the son of a cobbler at Troyes), who was not a cardinal. The crusade against Manfred was now renewed with greater vigour: the helpless Edmund Crouchback, whose father's resources were crippled by his quarrel with his barons, was prevailed upon to make a renunciation of his claims; and to the bold and unscrupulous Charles of Anjou was given the privilege of conquering the two Sicilies. Urban died at Perugia, Oct. 1264, before this design could be carried into execution; but his successor CLEMENT IV. (Guy of Foulques, archbishop of Narbonne, and cardinal-bishop of Sabino⁵)—from the hands of whose cardinals Charles received the vassal crown of his future kingdom, and the banner of the Church, as senator of Rome—beheld the fall of Manfred and the dismal overthrow of young *Conradin*, the last of the Swabian line. After the death of Clement, who resided at Viterbo and not at Rome, Nov. 1268, the electors were

the Capitol, to do justice with more severity than ever. Two of the *Annibaldi* were doomed to die on a gibbet; Pope Alexander IV. was made to leave Rome in disgrace; and one hundred and forty towers and strongholds of the nobles were levelled to the ground. In the year 1258, the brave and fortunate Senator died in his high office, greatly mourned by the people.

⁵ Elected at Perugia, Feb. 1265, by the cardinals, whose numbers had lately been augmented.—Guy of Foulques, or Guido Fulcodi, was of a noble family, and had been a counsellor of St. Lewis. A widower before he took orders, he had two daughters, whom, however, he would not enrich at the expense of the church. In the year 1266, he promulgated the bull which affirmed the papal right to *Reservas* (see p. 347, note 1); and in the following year, he rejected the admirable plan which the famous English Franciscan *Roger Bacon* had presented for the reform of the calendar.

unable to agree upon the choice of any one of their own body ; and when thirty-three months had been thus wasted, it was at last resolved to place upon the much-coveted throne *Theobald Visconte* of Placentia, the archdeacon of *Liege*, who was then living as a pilgrim in Palestine, Sept. 1271⁶.

GREGORY X., a single-minded and holy man, laboured heart and soul to heal the deadly feuds with which Italy was rent⁷, and to unite the whole of Christendom against the infidels. At the Second General Council of Lyons, which was opened in May 1274, he strove, but with short-lived success, to organize a fresh crusade, and to reconcile the Greeks with the Latins : he likewise devised the famous institution of the *conclave*⁸, as a means of forcing reluctant cardinals to agree in the election of a pope. He himself was to go to the Holy Land, and the chief monarchs of Europe⁹ had promised to march with him : but the little crusading spirit that was left, was quenched at once by his death at Arezzo, Jan. 1276, and his magnificent project came to nothing.

When the three next popes had passed away like

⁶ He had been there some years, having left *Liege* when insulted by his profligate bishop (*Henry*, the brother of the Emperor William of Holland), whom he had rebuked. When pope, he cited *Henry* before the council of Lyons, and got him to resign his bishopric.

⁷ In this he was much thwarted by the evil influence of *Charles* of Anjou, who loved to fish in troubled waters.

⁸ On the tenth day after the death of a pope, the cardinals are shut up—each with a single attendant (or conclavist)—in a common apartment known as the *condare*: the doors, locked on both sides, are guarded by the city magistrates ; and until the imprisoned electors have come to a decision, no communication from without is allowed but the introduction of bare necessaries through a small window.

⁹ The Emperor Rodolf of Habsburg ; Philip the Hardy, king of France ; Edward I., king of England ; James I., king of Arragon ; and Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily.

shadows¹, and there had been also a vacancy of more than six months, the new system of a conclave having fallen for a time into disuse; NICHOLAS III. (John Gaëtano Orsino, a cardinal-deacon) was called to the throne, at Viterbo, Nov. 1277. This pope was bent on raising the powerful family to which he belonged²: nepotism had now begun to be the scandal of the Romish see. Three of the Orsini were made cardinals; he named his brother *Bertoldo* count of Romagna; and he even wished to create two of his nephews kings, one of Lombardy, and the other of Tuscany. The year after his accession, he had the address to get the Emperor *Rodolf* of *Habsburg* to withdraw his claims of sovereignty over the towns of Romagna, and to confirm the rights of the popes as temporal lords of the Patrimony of St. Peter, or the Estates of the Church (June 1278): on the other hand, he caused Charles of Anjou, whom he looked upon with dread and dislike, to renounce the usurped vicariate of the Empire in Northern Italy³,

¹ INNOCENT V. (Peter Tarantasius, cardinal-bishop of Ostia), a Dominican; elected, Feb. 1276; died in the following June. ADRIAN V. (Ottoboni, a cardinal-deacon), one of the Genoese Fieschi, and a nephew of Innocent IV.; elected July 1276; died un consecrated in August. JOHN XXI. (Peter Julian, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum), a scientific Portuguese; elected at Viterbo, Sept. 1276; died there, May 1277, having been dreadfully crushed by the fall of a room which he had just built.—He had hoped to live long, relying on the promises of the astrologers.

² The ORSINI (or Ursini) had migrated to Rome from Spoleto, in the twelfth century. Their great rivals were the nobles of the house of COLONNA (so named from the fief of Colonna); who are said to have been of German origin, and, in the year 1104, possessed half Tusculum: they were, perhaps, of the family of its once famous counts.—The Orsini were Guelfs; the Colonnas, Ghibelins: the papal keys and the imperial eagle were often displayed on their adverse banners.

³ Clement IV. had illegally granted him the vicariate in Lombardy and Tuscany, when the imperial title was in abeyance.

and to lay down the office of senator. It was indeed his great object to keep down the power of that ambitious king; and therefore he sought to form a counterpoise by uniting the Italian states among themselves, and reconciling Guelfs and Ghibelins.

But his reign was cut short by a stroke of apoplexy, Aug. 1280; on which Charles of Anjou hastened to Viterbo, and with the aid of the Annibaldeschi and the populace⁴, frightened the cardinals into choosing a countryman of his own, when the Holy See had been vacant for six months, Feb. 1281. MARTIN IV. (Simon de Brion) lost no opportunity of showing his gratitude for his rise. He took the government of Romagna from the Orsini; he got the people of Rome to invest him with the senatorship, and then transferred it to his patron; he zealously persecuted the Ghibelins; and he excommunicated Michael Palæologus the Greek Emperor, and Peter III., king of Arragon, the foes of the Sicilian monarch, and published crusades against them. He died at Perugia, March 1285.

HONORIUS IV. (James Savelli, a cardinal-deacon), who succeeded, was learned and eloquent: but he was crippled by the gout in his hands and feet, and did little else but confirm the order of the Carmelites and enrich his kinsmen. His death, April 1287, was followed by an epidemic which proved fatal to several of the cardinals; some time therefore elapsed before the election of NICHOLAS IV. (Jerome of Ascoli, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina⁵), Feb. 1288. Nicholas was the tool of the Colonnas, whose greatness he raised to its height; and during his short reign, which ended April 1292, the Ghibelin party was allowed to breathe again.

For twenty-seven months, the Roman church was now

⁴ They seized and confined two of the Orsini, who were cardinal-deacons.

⁵ This cardinal was a friar of the order of St. Francis.

left without a bishop. A fever had decimated the Sacred College, and the survivors were distracted by the intrigues of the Colonnas and the Orsini, the latter of whom had an eye to the interests of the king of Naples, the son of the deceased Charles of Anjou: the discontent of the people broke out every where in dangerous seditions, and Rome was in a state of anarchy. At length, July 1294, the cardinals, when convened at Perugia, were suddenly moved by the bishop of *Ostia*, who was one of the Orsini⁶, to pitch upon a holy, but ignorant and simple-minded hermit, one *Peter de Morone*, the founder of the Celestins; who had retired into a dreary cell on the ridges of the Abruzzi, where he spent his days in fasting and prayer. The hermit meekly consented to bear the honours thrust upon him, though he would gladly have fled away; and as he chose to be consecrated at Aquila as CELESTIN V., he set out thither on an ass, two kings—*Charles the lame*, of Naples, and his son *Charles Martel*, of Hungary—holding his bridle. His blind loyalty to these princes led him to fix his abode at Naples; and also to create twelve cardinals, of whom ten were either the countrymen or the subjects of Charles the lame⁷.

This conduct, and the proofs which were daily seen of his want of knowledge and his utter incapacity for business, filled even his friends with dismay: so unfit indeed was he to reign, that, during one of the four Lents which he yearly kept, he shut himself up in a cell which he had already built in his palace, and would not let a soul come near him. A fine opening was thus afforded for the

⁶ This prelate, cardinal *Latino*, died before (as cardinal-bishop of *Ostia*) he could consecrate the new pope, who was a subject of the king of Naples.

⁷ Seven were Frenchmen; and of the five Italians, three were born in Charles's dominions. Martin IV. had already made several French cardinals.

cunning and address of *Benedict Caietan* of Anagni ; who managed to win the confidence of his brother cardinals ; got his former enemy, the king of Naples, to back him with the whole weight of his influence ; and when every thing was ripe for his purpose, worked upon the Pope's weak mind, and persuaded him to resign⁸. After restoring the law which enjoined the Conclave, and publishing a constitution which affirmed the right of a pope to lay down his office for the sake of his salvation ; the guileless Celestin stripped himself of his high dignity, and resumed the dress of a monk, Dec. 1294⁹. Benedict, in a few days, was raised to the vacated throne as BONIFACE VIII.

Poor Celestin was harshly treated. He escaped, like a bird from its cage, to that mountain cell which he felt to be his true home ; but Boniface, dreading lest artful men should prevail upon him to revoke what he had done, had him seized, and rigorously confined within a narrow tower in the fortress of Zumone in Campania. There the aged man died, worn out by suffering, May 1296.

The accession of Boniface VIII. marks the period when the papacy began visibly to decline. It had many elements of weakness. No small proportion of its claims were impudent usurpations which the light of truth was sure to expose : it was an elective monarchy of which the subjects were turbulent and unmanageable ; and as the pontiffs were mostly men stricken in years, the vigour of

⁸ He is accused of having given Celestin treacherous advice, to make him more ridiculous ; and of having, with the help of a speaking-trumpet, led him to believe that a voice from heaven commanded him to resign.

⁹ Just before this event, the *Santa Casa*, or Sacred House of the Virgin, is fabled to have arrived at Loretto. It had been borne, of course by angels, from Tersacto in Illyria, whither it had been at first transported from Nazareth, when Palestine finally fell under the power of the infidels after Acre had been taken.

its rule was often relaxed, and vacancies were mischievously common. Its pride, and insolence, and covetousness, its hateful exactions and its base venality, had taxed the patience of mankind to the utmost: its corrupt superstitions had awakened deep discontent in thinking minds, and while heresies sprang up on every side, the cry for a reform was loudly heard even within the church itself. Yet all lovers of truth will own that in the Dark Ages¹, the papacy was the source of good. It was a bond of union when Christian Europe was broken up into a number of states, between which there was no friendship and but little intercourse: it has also the merit of having civilized the northern nations, and brought them to the knowledge of the Gospel; and even its conflict with the Empire was not without its use, as it hindered the growth of a despotism which might in the end have crushed the seeds of real life and progress. As it would allow of no tyranny but its own, it rebuked the wickedness of princes, and was a sanc-

¹ The period which began in the seventh, and ended in the eleventh century, was remarkable for extreme ignorance. Heathen learning, already on the decline under the later Roman Emperors, had quite fallen in estimation when Christianity had triumphed; and before any re-action could well take place, Latin—which had always been barbarous in the provinces—had ceased to be spoken, and Greek had become almost unknown in the West. In the eighth century, the *Lingua Romana Rustica* was the language of Gaul; and the similar adoption of a vulgar dialect without a literature, in Italy and Spain, was equally fatal to the acquisition of knowledge by the people. Few could write, or even read; and the clergy were almost the only persons who had even a smattering of the learning which still lingered in the cathedral and monastic schools. As parchment was dear, and the supply of papyrus had been cut off by the Saracenic conquest of Alexandria (A.D. 640); the books then in use (being also transcribed at great cost) were worth their weight in gold: thus the loss of a library was an irreparable evil, and the burning of churches and monasteries by the Normans and Hungarians, consumed all the learning and science of whole districts.

tuary against the violence and oppression which every where prevailed. And its very defects, for a time, were beneficial. It was owing, perhaps, to the celibacy of the clergy which it upheld, that the dignities of the church did not become hereditary fiefs, the property of a caste; its monastic institutions provided safe retreats, not only for the study of letters and the preservation of books, but also for the cultivation of useful arts and the improvement of husbandry²; its system of canon law developed principles of regularity and order which re-acted on the lay tribunals, and infused a new spirit into civil jurisprudence³; and above all, the performance of the church service in Latin—doubly absurd as it was when hardly a parish priest understood what he was saying or singing—was the great means of saving the classical authors from utter neglect and oblivion. On the other hand, it is not to be forgotten, that when learning had revived, and universities had called forth mental activity⁴, Rome shrank back in selfish dismay

² Much indeed of the wealth of the monks was derived from the vast tracts of land which they had reclaimed by their skilful tillage.

³ The Roman law in France, Spain, and Italy, had been founded on a compilation from the Theodosian code, promulgated by Alaric II., king of the Visigoths, in the year 506. Early in the twelfth century, the famous school of civil law at Bologna, which revived the study of Justinian's system, was opened by *Irnerius* (Werner); and the new method was rapidly adopted in Italy (where the magistrates in the free cities, being liable to be called to account when their term of office was expired, were skilled in jurisprudence), in Southern France, in Spain, and in Germany. The common law in England and in Northern France was indirectly influenced by it; and in the ecclesiastical courts, so decidedly was it deemed supplementary to the Canon Law, that every canonist was likewise a civilian.

⁴ Public schools in which were taught the seven liberal arts,—the *Trivium* (Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric), and the *Quadrivium* (Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy), which, however, was much neglected,—were founded in several places by Charle-

at the success of her glorious work. Ever since, she has done her worst to stifle discussion, to check inquiry, and

magne. These institutions, which were connected with cathedrals and monasteries, fell into decay ; but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a great intellectual movement had arisen, to which universities owe their establishment. Of these the most ancient are Paris, Oxford, and Bologna. In Oxford, which was second to Paris alone in the Middle Ages, we find *Vacarius* of Bologna interdicted, in Stephen's reign, from giving lectures in civil law ; and in Paris, *William of Champeaux*, afterwards bishop of *Châlons*, the master of *Abelard*, by whom he was eclipsed and supplanted, taught logic as early as the year 1100 :—the latter of these universities obtained its first charter from Philip Augustus (A.D. 1200) ; the former, from king John. In the thirteenth century were founded, besides other universities, Padua (renowned for its lawyers), Salamanca, Cambridge, and Montpellier (which was a great medical school) ; and in the middle of the fourteenth, Cracow, Prague, and Heidelberg. Scholars from foreign parts would be attracted in crowds to the most celebrated seats of learning ; which were soon enriched with endowments, and even privileged with civil and criminal jurisdiction. In several universities, colleges were established.

The studies then so keenly pursued, were the civil and canon law and the scholastic philosophy.—The first dawns of that logical and metaphysical theology which was once the glory of Paris and Oxford, were in the ninth century : John Scotus Erigena—who enjoyed the patronage of Charles the Bald and the friendship of King Alfred, and wrote against transubstantiation, and also against the fatalism of *Gotteschalc* (as did *Raban Maurus*, monk and abbot of Fulda, Alcuin's pupil, who died archbishop of Mentz, A.D. 856)—propounded the mystical eastern doctrine of universal emanation from the Supreme Being, and ultimate absorption into his essence. The great impulse, however, to such discussions was given, at the close of the eleventh century, by *Roscelin*, canon of Compiègne, who denied the objective reality of universals ; and by *Lanfranc* of Pavia and *St. Anselm* of Aosta, both of whom, before they were archbishops of Canterbury, were famed as teachers when abbots of Bec in Normandy : the *Nominalist* Roscelin was opposed by the *Realist* Anselm, and fell under the censures of the Church for his doctrine of the Trinity, which savoured of tritheism. In the twelfth century, flourished Peter Abelard and his pupil *Peter Lombard*, bishop of

to destroy all freedom of thought; and it is now her shame and her condemnation, that she holds ignorance to be the mother of devotion, and that she loves darkness rather than light⁴.

SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY.

A. D. 589. The Lombard duchy of Benevento established.

827. The Saracens conquer most of Sicily.

Paris, the "Master of the Sentences;" so called from his *Liber Sententiarum*, which is a collection of passages from the writings of the Latin Doctors, ingeniously put together so as to form a system of theology. And in the thirteenth century, in spite of attempts like that of the Theological Faculty at Paris to exclude the Dominicans, the Mendicant Friars took the lead in the schools: thus the compendium of logic which bore the name of St. Augustine came to be set aside; and by the genius of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, the analytical philosophy of Aristotle, which popes and councils had denounced as atheistical, was blended with the mystical idealism of Plato, and triumphantly established as orthodox. [Aristotle had become known through versions from Arabic translations, and by the works of *Averroës* of Cordova (Ibn Roshd, who died in the year 1206) and other Mahometan commentators.] Duns Scotus (who died in the beginning of the fourteenth century), by controverting the predestinarian theory of Aquinas, divided the schoolmen into Scotists and Thomists; and a yet fiercer strife was kindled by his pupil and brother Franciscan, the Englishman *William Occham*, who, in opposition to the Realism of his master, revived Nominalism under a modified form. Nominalists and Realists would sometimes come to blows in the schools! Scholasticism, in which (notwithstanding its ingenuity) there was much waste of intellect, now began to decline. One of the most singular characters connected with its history was *Raymond Lullius* of Majorca, "the most illuminated doctor," and the author of the *Ars Magna* and countless other books; a visionary nobleman who sought to supersede all other systems by his own, but had some knowledge of chemistry and oriental learning. He was stoned in Africa, when about eighty years of age (A.D. 1315), in the last of his romantic attempts to convert the Mahometans of Barbary.

⁴ The Council of Thoulouse, Nov. 1231, first forbade the laity to read the Scriptures.

- A. D. 839. Salerno and Capua severed from Benevento.
 846. The Saracens besiege Gaëta.
 871. Bari retaken from the Saracens. Lewis II. imprisoned.
 900. Benevento and Capua re-united.
 969. Otho the Great ravages Calabria.
 978. Salerno united to Benevento by Pandulf Ironhead.
 982. Otho II. routed near Basentello. Benevento dismembered.

The Greeks for ages retained their hold upon the southern provinces of Italy. Their sovereignty, however, over Naples, Gaëta, and Amalfi (which became republics under elective dukes), was only nominal ; and towards the end of the sixth century, the boundaries of their sway had likewise been narrowed by the establishment of the great Lombard duchy of Benevento⁶. When that power was weakened by the revolt of Salerno and Capua, in the year 839 ; the civil wars of the Lombards gave a dangerous opening to the Saracens, who were called in from Africa and Spain to the aid of the contending parties. Most of Sicily had lately been conquered from the Greeks by the African Saracens ; and before long, the infidels had settled on the banks of the Garigliano, and had made themselves

⁶ The duchy of Benevento was founded by ZOTO, the vassal of the Lombard Kings, about the year 589 ; and under GRIMWALD III., it became independent of the successors of Charlemagne. After the murder of the vicious SICARD, the terror of Naples and the conqueror of Amalfi (which on his death again became free), the duchy was dismembered, the principalities of Salerno and Capua being severed from it by revolt, A.D. 839. In the year 900, Benevento was betrayed by a faction into the hands of the prince of Capua ; and under PANDULF Ironhead, Salerno was re-united by adoption. The union was for ever broken-up, in the year 982, when Pandulf was dead ; so that the Lombard principalities successively fell under the power of the Normans, in the latter part of the next century.

masters of Cumæ and Bari: they also threatened Gaëta, and insulted the fallen majesty of Rome⁷.

In the year 866, Lewis II., the Emperor of the West, came to the help of the Lombards of Benevento against the dreadful inroads of their former friends. He reduced many of the Saracen strongholds; but when he laid siege to Bari, as he had no fleet, that town defied all his attacks until he leagued himself with the Greeks, when it fell at last, Feb. 871. The quarrel of Lewis with the duke of Benevento, by whom he was imprisoned for a while, and the rapid decline of the Carlovingians, enabled the Greeks to reap all the advantages of the war; and it was not until the days of Otho the Great, that their dominion in Italy was much endangered by the rival empire. Eager to recover the influence which his predecessors had lost, Otho ravaged Calabria: but after the death of Nicephorus Phocas (A.D. 970), he accepted the proffered friendship of John Zimisces, and his son was married to the Byzantine princess *Theophania*⁸. Otho II., the husband of Theophania, revived the contest which his father had relinquished; and claimed Lucania and Calabria, and the rights of sovereignty over Venice, Naples, Gaëta, and Amalfi, as his wife's dower: he allied himself with the Lombards of Benevento, while Constantine and Basil, his brothers-in-law, had recourse to the Saracens. But though, at first, fortune smiled on the arms of the young emperor, and he entered Tarento in triumph; a terrible reverse befell him near Basentello, where his army was cut to pieces, and he himself had a narrow escape from captivity,

⁷ They had to raise the siege of Gaëta, in the year 846; and Pope Leo IV. also saved Rome from their incursions. (See pp. 316, 317).

⁸ The daughter of Romanus II. (the son of Constantine Porphyrogenētus), and the sister of Basil II. and Constantine VIII.

July 982⁹: his death, before he could retrieve his loss, enabled the Greeks to improve a victory which they owed to the valour of their infidel auxiliaries. The duchy of Benevento, which had been re-united, now split into a number of feeble principalities; and many districts were regained by the Byzantine emperors, and placed under the rule of a lieutenant, styled Catapanus (κατὰ πᾶν), who was stationed at Bari. But the Saracens stood their ground at Cumæ and elsewhere, and still continued their incursions.

A. D. 1016. The Normans enter Italy as mercenaries.

1019. Defeat of Melo at Cannæ.

1021. Henry II. invades Apulia. The Normans seize Aversa.

1062. Richard of Aversa conquers Capuâ.

In the early part of the next century, troubles broke out in Apulia, which prepared the way for the overthrow of the Greeks and their rivals by a race of warlike strangers. These new comers were the Normans, who for some time had flocked into Italy as armed pilgrims, and had now begun to seek their fortune in it by the sword¹: a rebel noble, *Melo* of Bari, with the assistance of the prince of

⁹ He was driven to take refuge in a Greek galley. By offering a large bribe, he got the captain to take him to Rossano, where his mother Adelaide had sought shelter; and when he reached the port, he jumped overboard while the captain was trying to drive a hard bargain, swam to a bark which was manned by his own people, and regained his freedom without paying any ransom.

¹ The Normans, who were as enterprising as they were superstitious, were much given to pilgrimages, both to Italy and to the Holy Land: they travelled in armed bands, for safety, owing to the lawlessness of the countries through which they passed. About forty of these pilgrims are said—or fabled—to have beaten off a host of piratical Saracens, who had landed at Salerno; and on their return home, to have induced their countrymen to take service in Italy, expatiating on its lovely climate and delicious fruits, and holding out tempting offers from the prince of Salerno. It was in the year 1016, that the adventurers began to make their appearance.

Salerno, took a number of them into his pay, thinking that by means of foreigners he could shake off a foreign yoke. After gaining several victories, he and his mercenaries were routed at Cannæ (A.D. 1019); a reverse which did not break their spirit. For while fresh adventurers gathered round the standard of the Norman chieftain *Drengot*, the indefatigable Melo hastened into Germany, to the court of Henry II.; whom he besought, almost indeed with his dying breath, to undertake an expedition into Apulia. Being also strongly urged by Pope Benedict VIII., the Emperor, in the year 1021, marched into Italy with an army, and was joined by Drengot and his Normans: but though his first attempts were successful, his progress was suddenly checked by an epidemic which spread among his troops, and he was forced to return home again.

The Normans were not so easily got rid of. Drengot being dead, they found an enterprising leader in his brother *Ranulf*, and seized Aversa, a small stronghold near Capua; and thus was planted, in the south of Italy, a colony of warriors who were ready to fight wherever they could get employment. In the year 1029, Ranulf was created count of Aversa by *Sergius IV.*, duke of *Naples*; whom he had helped to restore to his native city, when the garrison placed there by *Pandulf*, prince of *Capua*, was driven out². And the principality of Capua itself was at last conquered by a chieftain of the house of Drengot, in the year 1062; *Richard*, count of *Aversa*, having ended a victorious campaign by reducing Capua, which he had thrice besieged.

A. D. 1035. The elder sons of Tancred enter the service of Salerno.

1041. The Normans serve the Greek emperor in Sicily.

1042. William Bras-de-Fer and the Normans seize Apulia.

² Ranulf afterwards received investiture as count from the Emperor Conrad II., A.D. 1038.

- A. D. 1046. Drogo succeeds William as count of Apulia.
 1047. Drogo does homage for Apulia to Henry III.
 1051. Murder of Drogo. Humfrey, count of Apulia.
 1053. Leo IX. taken prisoner by the Normans, at Civitella.
 1057. Robert Guiscard succeeds Humfrey in Apulia.
 1059. *Robert Guiscard created duke of Apulia and Calabria by the Pope.*
 1061. The Normans attack Sicily.
 1071. Bari taken ; end of the Greek rule in Italy.
 1077. Conquest of Salerno and most of Benevento.
 1078. War with Jordan of Aversa.
 1080. Robert Guiscard and Gregory VII. reconciled.
 1081. Robert Guiscard takes Corfu. Siege and battle of Durazzo.
 1084. Robert Guiscard rescues the Pope. War with the Greeks renewed.
 1085. Death of Robert Guiscard. Roger Borsa becomes duke of Apulia, in spite of Bohemond.
 1111. William, duke of Apulia.
 1127. Duke William dies at Salerno.

A second band of adventurers, whose fortunes were yet more brilliant, came out of Normandy, in the year 1035 ; and foremost among them were *William with the Iron Arm* (Bras-de-Fer), *Drogo*, and *Humfrey*, the three eldest of the twelve sons of *Tancred*, the lord of Hauteville in the diocese of Coutances³. They were received with hearty welcome by *Guaimar IV.*, the prince of *Salerno*⁴ ; who

³ By his first wife, this patriarch had William, Drogo, Humfrey, Geoffrey, and Serlo ; by his second, Robert Guiscard, Mauger, Alvaerd, William, Humbert, Tancred, and Roger. Ten of these found their way to Italy.

⁴ Guaimar of Salerno had, in the year 1038, received from the Emperor Conrad II. the principality of Capua, of which his maternal uncle, Pandulf, had been deprived ; but in 1046, he agreed to restore it. The people of Amalfi consented to elect him as their duke, May 1039, provided he would respect their privileges : he broke his word, and perished by a conspiracy, A.D. 1052.—His elder daughter, *Sikelgaita*, married Robert Guiscard ; *Gaitelgrima*, the younger married Jordan, the Norman prince of Capua.

availed himself of their prowess in his wars with Sorrento and Amalfi. From his service, they passed into that of the Greeks; being engaged by the Patrician *George Maniaces* to help in recovering Sicily from the Saracens, who had been much weakened of late by feuds which had split their territory into petty districts, ruled by rival emirs. The astonishing valour of about three hundred hardy northmen was carrying every thing before it in Sicily, when they suddenly became disgusted with their cowardly employers and left the island⁵: being joined by several of their countrymen from Aversa, they fell upon Apulia, and had quickly overrun the greatest part of it before the end of the year 1042. The province thus taken from the Greeks, was divided among twelve counts, the chief of whom, William with the Iron Arm, had his abode at Melfi.—William died childless (A.D. 1046), leaving his influence to Drogo; who did homage to the Emperor Henry III. as count of Apulia, and was stabbed at last in a church, by a rebel whom Greek gold had corrupted (A.D. 1051). Humfrey, who next succeeded⁶, avenged his brother's fate.

The yoke of the count of Apulia sat very loosely on the rest of the chieftains: they lived by pillage, not sparing even monasteries and churches, and were the curse of the south of Italy. Thus they stirred up Pope Leo IX. to form a league against them. Having gotten five hundred German soldiers from Henry III., and a much larger, but less warlike contingent from the Greeks; the zealous pontiff marched at the head of the troops of Rome and the

⁵ They were exasperated at the treatment of a brother mercenary, a Lombard named *Arduin*; who was beaten by *George Maniaces*, because he would not give up to him a horse which he had taken as his booty.

⁶ Drogo had a son, named *Richard*, who was not allowed to succeed him.

neighbouring cities to attack the sacrilegious robbers, whose superstition withal made them dread to face so holy a foe. The Norman leaders—Humfrey had been reinforced by his brother Robert Guiscard⁷, the eldest of the sons of old Tancred by his second wife, and a fresh band of bold adventurers from Normandy; and likewise by Richard of Aversa and all his men—would gladly have come to terms: but as the Pope would hear of nothing less than their withdrawing altogether from Italy, they resolved to fight for what they had gained. They won an easy victory, near Civitella, June 1053, the Germans alone giving them trouble; and when Leo fled into the town for shelter, their threats caused the inhabitants to put him outside their walls. A strange scene was now acted. The Normans went up to the forlorn Pope; fell down upon their knees; and covering themselves with dust, piteously besought his pardon and his blessing: having thus satisfied their tender consciences, they led him with the utmost reverence within their camp, where he was kept closely guarded. He recovered his freedom by giving what did not belong to him. He granted to his devout captors, in the name of St. Peter, all that they had conquered in Apulia, and all that they might conquer besides in Calabria and Sicily, to be held as fiefs of the church⁸; and thus his victorious enemies became his vassals.

In the year 1057, Humfrey died. Robert Guiscard, whom at one time he had imprisoned (being jealous of his achievements in Calabria), set aside his son, and had himself raised on a shield as count of Apulia; but did not

⁷ *Guiscard* or *Wiscard* (*Wiseacre*) was a name given to Robert on account of his cunning.

⁸ The Normans agreed to pay a small quit-rent for their lands to the Holy See.

remain long contented with so lowly a title. Having, in conjunction with his youngest brother *Roger*⁹, extended his sway in Calabria by taking Reggio and other places; he got the Norman counts to acknowledge his sovereignty, and from the Pope Nicholas II., he received investiture as "ROBERT, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily," May 1059. The times were favourable for these pretensions. The Eastern Empire was helpless and degraded; that of the West was vacant, Henry of Germany being under age; and the Pope—the great struggle between the sceptre and the crosier was at hand—was not sorry to behold the growth of a warlike power in the south of Italy, which the threefold ties of policy, gratitude, and religion, would keep on the side of the church against the Germans.

While Roger undertook the conquest of Sicily, as its future count¹; Robert Guiscard reduced the places in Italy which still belonged to the Greeks. Bari, their last stronghold, withstood him for four years: a naval victory, gained by Roger, decided its fate; and with it fell the rule of the successors of Constantine in the West, April 1071. Nor did it fare much better with the Lombards and Saracens. The latter were driven within the walls of a few towns on the coast; and the conquest of Capua from the Lombards by the Normans of Aversa, was thrown into the shade by the more splendid acquisitions of the crafty and valiant duke of Apulia. He took possession of the ter-

⁹ Either from avarice or jealousy, he had allowed Roger so little money, that at one time the latter was reduced to steal horses and to rob travellers in the neighbourhood of Melfi.

¹ In the year 1061.—The next year, the two brothers had a quarrel about Calabria, of which Robert did not give up half, as he had promised. Robert fell into the hands of Roger's adherents, and was glad to regain his freedom by yielding what was demanded.

ritory of Benevento², after the death of *Landulf VI.*, its last duke : about the same time, with the help of the fleet of Amalfi, he reduced Salerno³ by famine, and also compelled the tyrant *Gisulf II.* to surrender the citadel, retaining nothing but his life and freedom, Aug. 1077. A revolt headed by *Abelard*, the son of his late brother Humfrey, threatened him with serious danger when he was involved in a war with *Jordan* of Aversa, prince of *Capua*⁴, and excommunicated by Gregory VII. : but he wisely made peace with Jordan, and thus speedily crushed the faction of Abelard, who died an exile at Constantinople. Robert and the Pope likewise became friends. Gregory was invited to Apulia, where he received the homage of the Norman duke, and gave him investiture by delivering a banner into his hands, June 1080.

The ambition of Robert Guiscard having risen with his fortunes, he would stop short at nothing less than the overthrow of the Eastern Empire. Crossing the Adriatic with his son Bohemond and a Greek monk who personated the fallen Michael Ducas⁵, he took Corfu and besieged Durazzo ; where he won the most brilliant of his victories, Alexius Comnenus and his army being put to flight in a great battle fought for the relief of the place, in the which the false Michael lost his life, Oct. 1081. Durazzo held

² The city itself, which defied his efforts for a while, he eventually gave up to the Pope.

³ Salerno had become renowned, since the ninth century, for its school of medicine, which had derived its science from Arabian sources. Many of its precepts were embodied in a Latin poem of leonine or rhyming verses, on the art of preserving health ; written in the year 1100, at the request of Robert, duke of Normandy, who in the dedication of the work is styled king of England.

⁴ Jordan had succeeded his father Richard, April 1078.

⁵ See p. 15, and note 7, *ibid.*—One of Robert's fair daughters had been sent to Constantinople as the affianced bride of Michael's son *Constantine*.

out until it fell by treachery, Feb. 1082; after which Bohemond was left to carry on the war, as Robert had to return and make head against the troubles by which Italy was distracted. Bohemond showed himself worthy of his father, although forced in the end to retreat.

When, however, Robert had awed the disaffected Apulian cities into submission, and rescued his ally the Pope out of the fangs of the Emperor Henry IV.; he again crossed over into Albania, having begun his second war with Alexius by defeating the combined fleet of the Greeks and Venetians, and raising the siege of Corfu, Nov. 1084. But the fruits of his victories were lost, owing to his death at Cephalonia, in the following summer, July 1085⁶: for the expedition was broken up when his widow hastened home to secure the peaceful succession of her own son, who had a formidable rival in his elder half-brother, the bold and restless Bohemond⁷.

ROGER, who was surnamed *Bursa*, had to fight for the inheritance which his father had bequeathed him. Although he had the best of it in the field, and by the advice of his uncle Roger of Sicily, had even ceded Otranto and other places to Bohemond, for the sake of peace; the latter still continued to be troublesome until he set out for the Holy Land, to seek his fortune there. This was in some respects a good riddance: but the Normans were weakened by the emigration of some of their bravest warriors, and the duke of Apulia was no longer dreaded by the Greeks.

⁶ Robert Guiscard, who in person was tall and handsome, was a thorough Norman: for he was crafty and rapacious, and the oppressor of rich and poor.

⁷ Bohemond (though made prince of Tarento) and his brother Guy had been bastardised by their father; who had put away their mother *Alberada*, on pretence of consanguinity, and married Sikelgaita of Salerno.

Roger⁸ was succeeded, Feb. 1111, by his son WILLIAM; who died childless at Salerno, July 1127, being the last of the line of Robert Guiscard who reigned in Italy.

THE NORMAN COUNTS AND KINGS OF SICILY.

- A. D. 1061. Roger I. undertakes the conquest of Sicily.
- 1072. Palermo taken from the Saracens.
- 1090. The conquest of Sicily completed.
- 1098. Roger styles himself Great Count of Sicily and Calabria.
- 1098. Richard II. of Capua, restored by Roger as his vassal.—Bull of Urban II.; the counts of Sicily Apostolical Legates.
- 1101. Roger II., count of Sicily and duke of Calabria.
- 1103. The Regent Adelaide calls in Robert of Burgundy.
- 1113. Adelaide goes to Palestine (died, A.D. 1118).
- 1127. Roger II. seizes Apulia.
- 1128. Pope Honorius II. forced to give Roger the investiture of Apulia.

ROGER I., the conqueror of Sicily, had but scanty means for so great an undertaking: some two or three hundred knights and their men at arms would follow him as volunteers; who fought for plunder, and often forsook his standard after a victory, to secure or to enjoy the booty which they had gained. In his first attempts, he was wont to ravage the island for a few months, and then return again: at length, having found a stronghold at Traina, he was able to set the Saracens at defiance, sallying forth to attack them in every direction⁹. In these forays, the achievements of Norman valour, when at fearful odds

⁸ He was married to *Adelaide of Flanders*, the widow of St. Canute, king of Denmark.

⁹ Once, the inhabitants let in the Saracens: but Roger and his Normans held out for four months, and regained the quarters of the town which they had lost. Such were the straits to which Roger was reduced, that his countess had to cook for himself and his men; and he had but one cloak, which he had often to lend to his wife.

against overwhelming numbers, were all but miraculous. The fall of Palermo—taken by Roger and his brother Robert Guiscard, Jan. 1072, after the infidels had been defeated at sea¹—was one of the most decisive events of a lingering war, which lasted nearly to the end of the year 1090: from that time, Roger's rule in Sicily was firmly established.

About six years after the conquest of the island was completed (A.D. 1096), Roger assumed the title of Great Count of Sicily and Calabria. He moreover restored the exiled prince of *Capua*, *Richard II.*, the son and successor of Jordan; and received homage from him, as his future vassal. A more singular piece of good fortune was the famous bull, granted by Pope Urban II., July 1098, by which the counts of Sicily were constituted perpetual legates of the Holy See, and empowered to exercise the fullest jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical persons and causes²: so readily did Rome give the spiritual rule into lay hands, when it suited her convenience! Roger died at the age of sixty, July 1101, greatly mourned: for besides being wise, and just, and open-handed, he was gentle and

¹ Robert Guiscard kept half of Palermo and Messina, together with the feudal superiority over Sicily.

² Sicily had been originally under the primacy of Rome; but when the Popes revolted, in the eighth century, the clergy there had remained loyal to the Byzantine emperors, and had put themselves under the patriarch of Constantinople. Roger wanted to detach the Sicilian church from the Greeks, without altogether subjecting it to the Pope: he therefore resisted the appointment of a legate. The Bull conceded that no legate should be sent into Sicily against the will of the count; that Roger and his successors should have the authority and mission of legates *a latere*; and that only as many prelates and abbots as they thought fit, should attend the councils convened by the Pope. Roger II. was allowed by Pope Lucius II., A.D. 1144, to wear the staff, ring, dalmatic, mitre, and sandals, in token of his ecclesiastical authority.

tolerant—rare qualities in a Norman conqueror. By *Adelaide of Montferrat*, his third wife, whom he had lately divorced, he left two sons; the elder of whom, *Simon*, followed him to the grave before the nobles could meet to proclaim a new count.

ROGER II., a child not four years old, now succeeded as count of Sicily and duke of Calabria, under the regency of *Adelaide*. This princess, who was haughty and rapacious, made herself so disliked, that she was obliged to call in the brave and prudent *Robert of Burgundy*³, the husband of her niece, to take charge of the government: when her son was old enough to reign, she left Sicily, in the year 1113, with the immense wealth which she had scraped together, and became the queen of *Baldwin I. of Jerusalem*. She afterwards returned home, having been robbed and dishonoured by her new husband⁴; and died of a broken heart.

Young Roger proved a troublesome neighbour to his cousin *William of Apulia*; who ceded to him his rights in Calabria and the city of Palermo. When William's health began to fail, he kept on the watch; and at the first tidings of his death, July 1227, he sailed to Salerno, and got himself acknowledged as duke by the people of Apulia. Pope *Honorius II.*, who looked upon the duchy with a covetous eye, and dreaded the growth of his power, formed a league against him with *Robert II. of Capua* and other chieftains, to uphold the better claims of *Bohemond II. of Antioch*: but the cautious valour of Roger

³ Son of Robert of France, duke of Burgundy.—*Adelaide* is accused of having poisoned him, when he had governed about ten years.

⁴ *Baldwin's* former wife, whom he divorced, being still living; he was induced by the patriarch of Jerusalem to put away *Adelaide* (A.D. 1117), taking care, however, to keep her treasures. She died the next year.

baffled his foes ; and the affrighted Pope himself withdrew his excommunication, and gave him the investiture, on the bridge of Benevento ⁵, of the disputed fief.

A. D. 1130. *Roger II. made king of Sicily by Anacletus.*

1131. Reduction of Amalfi ; submission of Sergius duke of Naples.

1132. Revolt of Robert of Capua and the barons. *Battle of the Sarno.*

1134. The Pisans aid Robert and Sergius.

1135. Capua reduced. The Pisans sack Amalfi ; but are beaten at Fratta.

1137. Lothaire overruns Apulia ; Ranulf made duke by the Pope and the Emperor.—Death of Sergius. Roger defeated at Regnano.

1139. Death of Ranulf.—Innocent II. taken prisoner ; Roger's title confirmed.—Submission of Naples.

1146. War with Manuel. Corfu taken ; Greece pillaged.

1147. Capture of Tripoli by George.

1149. George insults Constantinople ; Manuel retakes Corfu.

The rank of a duke was not high enough to satisfy an able and powerful, but somewhat vain prince. Roger was created king of Sicily by his brother-in-law, the antipope Anacletus, Sept. 1130 ; and was accordingly crowned, on Christmas Day, at Palermo, Robert of Capua paying him homage ⁶. *Sergius*, the elective duke of Naples, likewise saw the necessity of yielding to the sovereignty of the new king ; but the citizens of Amalfi, who were now bidden to renounce the privileges still left them by the Normans⁷,

⁵ Roger would not trust himself within the walls of the Pope's city.

⁶ The sovereignty over Naples and Capua was included in the grant to Roger ; who, for some years, even styled himself king of Sicily and Italy.

⁷ When the people of Amalfi took the later princes of Salerno, and afterwards Robert Guiscard and his successors, as their dukes ; they kept in their own hands the local administration, the appointment of the magistrates, and the custody of the strongholds.

for some months fought stoutly for their freedom, the loss of which was quickly followed by the decay of their trade and wealth.

Naples and Capua, however, though humbled, were not yet subdued. The year after the fall of Amalfi (A.D. 1132), when Roger wanted to force his haughty Norman barons to march under his banners against the lawful Pope, Robert and Sergius, and *Ranulf*, count of *Alifa*⁸, and other malcontents, leagued themselves together, and appealed to the sword in the cause of civil and religious liberty. Although beaten in the outset by Robert of Capua, on the banks of the Sarno, July 1132, the king of Sicily conquered the barons one after another; and threatened the safety of Naples, the stronghold of republican independence in the south of Italy: it was succoured, at the prayer of the indefatigable Robert, by the fleet of Pisa, a city devoted to the Pope, April 1134, the Neapolitans melting even the plate on the altars of the churches, to pay the subsidy which had been promised for this service. The Pisans sacked Amalfi, the next year⁹; but were surprised and routed by Roger, while they were besieging the castle of Fratta. Capua had already surrendered to that prince; who bestowed it, Oct. 1135, on his third son, *Alfonso*¹.

Robert was not the man to sit down content with the loss of Capua. Befriended by the Pope and all the influence of the eloquent St. Bernard, he got the Emperor

⁸ Ranulf had married Roger's sister *Matilda*, whom he had ill-treated. He was therefore on bad terms with Roger; who moreover had blinded his brother *Richard*, and cut off his nose.

⁹ A copy of the Pandects, which was then carried off to Pisa, is said to have contributed to the revival of the civil law. Amalfi likewise falsely claims for one of her citizens the invention of the mariner's compass, in the fourteenth century.

¹ Alfonso (or Anfuso) and his two elder brothers, Roger, duke of Apulia, and *Tancred*, prince of *Bari*, died before their father.

Lothaire II. to espouse his quarrel, and invade Italy. In the spring of the year 1137, Roger of Sicily found himself attacked and worsted on every side: Pope Innocent II. in person² recovered Capua for its prince; a Pisan fleet of a hundred sail raised the blockade of Naples, and again pillaged the hapless town of Amalfi; and in the month of July, the Emperor and the confederates—the Pope and the Pisans had now joined him—were masters of Salerno and of all the provinces on the mainland. Fierce dissensions then arose³, which broke up the expedition; and the conquerors retreated, Sept. 1137, after Ranulf of Alifa had received investiture as duke of Apulia from the Pope and the Emperor, each of these saving their rights by holding the staff of the banner delivered into his hands. Before the end of the next October, Roger, who had returned from Sicily, had entered again into Salerno; retaken and burned Capua; terrified Sergius into submission⁴; and discomfited Ranulf and his German and Italian troops, near Regnano, in a battle which St. Bernard vainly endeavoured to prevent by his remonstrances. Ranulf continued the struggle until his death, April 1139⁵; and then Innocent II. again took the field to save his friends from ruin: his Holiness was surprised, while besieging the castle of Galluzzo, by duke *Roger*, the Sicilian king's second son; who brought him into his father's camp. The captive Pope made his peace at the cost of his allies. King Roger got absolution

² He was aided by 3000 Germans, under Henry the Proud, Lothaire's son-in-law.

³ The Pisans were angry with Lothaire for having granted a capitulation to Salerno without their concurrence; and the Pope, in the usual style, claimed the city as the property of the Holy See.

⁴ Sergius fell in battle soon afterwards, fighting for Roger.

⁵ His corpse was dug up, some months after, and dragged about the streets of Troja with a rope round its neck, when that city submitted to Roger.

and the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of Apulia, the principality of Capua, and the honour of Naples and its dependencies, July 1139; and the Pope was to have a purse of six hundred gold pieces (*schifati*) sent him yearly, in token of his sovereignty.—Bari and the other places which still held out, were forthwith reduced⁶; the citizens of Naples wisely sent delegates to lay the ducal crown at Roger's feet, and were allowed to keep most of their privileges⁷.

The ambition of Roger was not confined to Italy. In the year 1146, *George*, his renowned admiral, took Corfu, and pillaged Cephallonia, Corinth, Athens, Eubœa, and the coasts of Greece⁸; and in the following year, he also sailed to Africa, and attacked and stormed Tripoli, then a nest of pirates⁹. Corfu was indeed recovered by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, with the help of the Venetian fleet, A.D. 1149; but George, in the meanwhile, when he was unable to rescue the island, had the boldness to enter the waters of the Propontis, and to insult Constantinople itself. He set fire to some of the houses in the suburbs; shot a burning arrow against the walls of the palace; and carried away fruit from the imperial gardens.

The latter days of king Roger, who died at Palermo, Feb. 1154, were darkened by the loss of his elder sons.

⁶ On pretence that the capitulation of Bari had been broken, Roger hanged *Hyacintho*, the rebel prince, and ten of his counsellors. Several persons had their eyes put out, and many were imprisoned and deprived of all that they possessed.

⁷ Much mischief, however, was done to their trade by a coinage of base ducats, substituted by Roger for the good money from the mint of Constantinople, hitherto in circulation.

⁸ The manufacture of silk was then introduced into Sicily, a number of workmen having been carried away from Greece.

⁹ Roger inscribed this verse on his sword and on his seal :—

“*Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer.*”

He was a true Norman prince. Of fine stature, gallant bearing, and commanding presence ; vain and enterprising, yet crafty and frugal ; a strict and harsh master, but not ungenerous to those who served him well ; he was more feared than loved, and although careful of religious forms, he was selfish at heart and of loose life.

1154. William I. (the Bad) succeeds Roger.

1155. The Greeks conquer part of Calabria and Apulia ; Robert recovers Capua.

1156. William I. retrieves his losses ; makes peace with Pope Adrian.

1157. Maione assassinated.

1159. Revolt against William ; death of prince Roger.

1166. William II. (the Good). Margaret regent.

1169. Outbreak against Stephen of Perche.

1185. Expedition against Greece.

1189. Death of William the Good.

WILLIAM I., *the Bad*, the third son of the deceased king, was a contemptible creature : weak, slothful, dissolute, cruel, cowardly, and rapacious, he let himself be guided by such men as *Maione* ; an obscure citizen of Bari, who was raised to be his chancellor and admiral. The barons spurned his ignoble yoke, and were once more combined under Robert of Capua, who had now returned from exile and regained his lost principality ; Pope Adrian IV. withheld the title of king¹, and successfully assailed him with spiritual and carnal weapons ; the attitude of Frederic Barbarossa was threatening ; and Manuel Comnenus fitted out a powerful armament, and Bari, Brundisium, and much of the Apulian and Calabrian coast were speedily conquered. But when, in the spring of the year 1156, William ventured at last to come forth from his refuge in Sicily, the Greeks were repelled and the barons crushed ; Robert of Capua, betrayed and blinded, perished in prison

¹ He would only style William lord of Sicily.

at Palermo²; and the Pope, who had hitherto rejected the king's proffers, was besieged in Benevento, and frightened into a treaty, July 1156.

The rest of the reign was quite in keeping with this beginning. On the eve of St. Martin, Nov. 1158, the hateful Maïone was assassinated by *Matthew Bonello*, one of the chief nobles; and William allowed his death to remain unpunished³. The next year, Bonello engaged in a plot to depose the unworthy monarch, and to give the crown to his eldest son *Roger*. But though William was seized in his palace and the young prince proclaimed, the clergy led the people to the rescue, and set the tyrant free, Roger being mortally wounded in the affray: the baffled conspirators kindled the flame of rebellion throughout Sicily, and in most of the towns of Apulia, and it took three years to subdue them. The thread of the bad king's life was cut short by a flux, May 1166⁴.

WILLIAM II., *the Good*, who was not more than twelve years old when he was crowned, was left under the care of *Margaret of Navarre*, his mother. The widowed queen, having reason to mistrust the factious nobles, made her French cousin, *Stephen of Perche*, archbishop of Palermo and chancellor, and was guided by his counsels: the favour

² The rest of the rebel barons either rotted in dungeons, or died by the hand of the executioner.

³ Maïone had aimed at the crown. In fact, William's ministers and nobles were driven to rebellion in self-defence.

⁴ William the Bad reigned in Sicily like a degenerate Eastern sultan, with women, priests, and even Mahometan eunuchs about him. Except in the mountains, where the Saracen chiefs were hardly yet subdued, the bold independence of the feudal nobles in the Italian provinces was unknown in Sicily. The towns and the open country were subjected to the misrule of despotic Christian governors, styled counts and barons; trade was carried on by the conquered Saracens; and the condition of society in the island was at once slavish and turbulent.

shown to a stranger heightened the discontent of the Sicilians ; and after several attempts to murder him had failed, a sedition broke out in the capital, which drove him into exile, A.D. 1169⁵.

True to the policy of which even his father had seen the expediency, William sided with the Pope and the free cities against Frederic Barbarossa. Towards the close of his reign, in the year 1185 (when the usurper Andronicus was on the throne of Constantinople), he waged war against the Greeks : but though Durazzo was surprised, and his troops invaded Romania and took Thessalonica, all the fruits of the campaign were lost by an inglorious defeat⁶. To the great sorrow of his subjects, William died childless in the flower of his age, Nov. 1189.

A. D. 1189. Tancred usurps the kingdom of Sicily.

1191. Henry VI. raises the siege of Naples.

1194. Death of Tancred ; Henry VI. becomes king of Sicily.

1197. Death of Henry. Frederic, his son, king of Sicily.

1198. Constance dies ; Innocent III. is left guardian of Frederic.

1200. Defeat of Marquard in Sicily.

1205. Defeat and death of Walter de Brienne.

1222. Frederic humbles the Apulian barons.

1223. Mirabet and the revolted Saracens in Sicily subdued.

1232—1259. Career of Eccelin de Romano.

1250. Conrad succeeds Frederic ; the Pope stirs up rebellion against him.

1253. Conrad reduces Capua and Naples.

1254. Death of Conrad.

The Norman kingdom of Sicily had never recovered from the decay into which it had fallen, in the days of

⁵ He died in Syria shortly afterwards. Margaret lived until the year 1183.

⁶ At Demetrice, Nov. 1185, after the fall of Andronicus.

William the Bad⁷; and it was now doomed to suffer fresh wounds from civil war. The late king had tried to prevent this evil by settling the reversion of the crown on his aunt *Constance*; who was married to Henry, king of the Romans, the eldest son of Frederic Barbarossa, and was the only legitimate descendant of Roger II. still living: but the dread of being brought under a German yoke made the nobles break their oaths, and hand over their allegiance to *TANCRED*, count of *Lecce*, a bastard offshoot of the royal house⁸. The husband of Constance, when he had become emperor as Henry VI., sought and obtained the aid of the fleets of Genoa and Pisa, and led an army to Naples, to which he began to lay siege (A.D. 1191): sickness spread among his troops, and he had to return home baffled, leaving his wife at Salerno, where she was betrayed to his enemies by the faithless inhabitants. Tancred had the generosity to let her go free, without paying any ransom⁹. After reigning for some years, he died of a broken heart at the loss of his son Roger, Feb. 1194.

Although the younger son of Tancred was proclaimed king as *WILLIAM III.*, neither that child nor *Sibylla*, his mother and guardian, were able to withstand the German emperor; who came with a fresh army, and with the help of the Genoese, put down all opposition, and was crowned at Palermo as *HENRY I.* of Sicily. The vengeance of this tyrant was hardly to be sated. As faithless as he was

⁷ The conquests on the north coast of Africa, from Tunis to Tripoli, were lost in his unhappy reign.

⁸ Tancred was the son of William the Bad's elder brother Roger, by the countess of *Lecce* with whom he lived.

⁹ Tancred did not behave so well to *Jane of England*, the queen-dowager. He imprisoned her and withheld her dower; but was soon forced to do her justice when her brother, Richard I., landed in Sicily, on his way to the Holy Land, Sept. 1190.

cruel,—for he was false even to his friends the Genoese, thanklessly withdrawing all the privileges granted to their trade,—he broke every engagement to which he had plighted his word when the rebels submitted; the discovery of a real or pretended plot being his wolfish plea for the commission of the worst atrocities. His dungeons were crowded with inmates, among whom were the best and noblest of the land; many were hanged and burnt alive; many were proscribed and carried away captive to Germany; and many were blinded, and most shockingly maimed and tortured. Nor was the fallen family less basely treated. The dead bodies of Tancred and Roger were disturbed in their graves, and stripped of the crowns with which they had been buried; Sibylla and her three daughters were perfidiously shut up in nunneries¹; and the infant William was doomed to be deprived of sight and manhood, and to languish within the walls of an Alpine stronghold until death set him free. Henry then returned home, laden with the treasures of the kingdom which he had conquered and pillaged.

The tidings of a fresh outbreak recalled this man of blood into Italy, at the end of the year 1196. He again behaved like a fiend. When the rebels were beaten, *Jornandi*, their elected king, was tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and a crown of the same burning metal was nailed to his head; such horrors also were perpetrated, that the Empress Constance, whose heart bled for the wrongs of her country, rose at the head of the people against her husband, and wrung from him better terms for

¹ When Sibylla opened the gates of the palace and citadel of Palermo to Henry, and renounced for her children all claim to the kingdom of Sicily; it had been agreed that her son should be prince of Tarento and count of Lecce, and that all her family should be free and unmolested.

the vanquished. To the great joy of his subjects, he unexpectedly died at Messina, Sept. 1197².

FREDERIC-ROGER, the son of Henry and Constance, better known in after life as the Emperor Frederic II., was placed on the throne of a troubled kingdom, when a child not three years old. His mother, who had much difficulty to get rid of the German mercenaries and their leaders, did not live to watch over his interests long: but before she went down to the grave, Nov. 1198, she made a will in which she named as his guardian Pope Innocent III., whose party she had already embraced. *Marquard*, however, a German captain to whom the late emperor had given the fiefs of Spoleto and Romagna, brought back his troops and tried to seize the regency: he overran Apulia; crossed over into Sicily and besieged Palermo; and though defeated, with the loss of his baggage³, in the plain near that city, July 1200, managed to get most of the island part of the kingdom under his power. An unskilful operation for the stone, put an end to his life, about a twelvemonth afterwards. In the mainland, *Walter de Brienne*, the king of Jerusalem's brother, who had married a daughter of Tancred⁴, and claimed the principality of Tarento and the county of Lecce, had also taken up arms. Innocent III., in whose cause he had fought against Marquard, having encouraged him to demand what had been

² His wife was unjustly suspected of having poisoned him.—She married Henry in the year 1186, being not much under forty; her son Frederic was born in Nov. 1194.

³ In his baggage is said to have been found the will of Henry VI.; which directed that if the Pope confirmed his son Frederic in the imperial dignity, the latter was to restore to him the alodial possessions of the countess Matilda.

⁴ *Alberia* or *Albinia*, whose sister *Constance* married *Peter Ziani*, the doge of Venice.—Sibylla and her daughters had recovered their freedom after the death of Henry VI.

promised to the children of Tancred; he raised a small army in France, and for a time was highly successful⁵. But in the year 1205, he let himself be surprised and taken prisoner by count *Diepold*, whom he was besieging in a castle on the banks of the Sarno; and after lingering a few days, he died of the wounds which he had received.

When Frederic was grown up, he had much ado to get the Apulian barons to submit to the kingly rule, which they had almost shaken off. Force, cunning, and treachery were alike employed against them; their strongholds were pulled down⁶, and their power was broken. He also completed the subjection of the Saracens in Sicily; who, hating the Christian yoke, and sorely galled by heavy taxes and exactions, had risen under a leader named *Mirabet*, and had been joined in the work of bloodshed and pillage by numbers of their brethren from Africa. In the year 1223, when he had carried the war into their mountain fastnesses, many thousands of the infidels thankfully closed in with his offer of a settlement away from the sea, at Luceria in Apulia; and towards the end of his reign, the rest likewise agreed to abandon their homes, and were removed to Nocera, a town in a rich valley between Naples and Salerno⁷. The colonists were bound to military service, and they could always be trusted to fight against the Pope with hearty goodwill⁸.

⁵ He defeated count Diepold and the Germans near Capua; took the castle of Lecce and other places in the principality of Tarento; and reduced Terracina, where he afterwards lost an eye in a sally, when besieged by Diepold.

⁶ On the other hand, to bridle the discontented, he built castles, and placed garrisons in the chief towns of Apulia, and also of Sicily.

⁷ Nocera was henceforth called Nocera di' Pagani (Nocera of the Pagans or Paynim).

⁸ Frederic, however, was much injured in public opinion by his reliance on the support of infidels. Still more mischievous to his

Owing to his quarrel with the Church, and the disaffection which it stirred up among his Italian subjects, the

cause was the conduct of many of his friends, the worst of whom was the infamous and bloody tyrant ECCELIN DA ROMANO.—The ancestor of this man was one *Eccelin* (Etzelin, little Attila), a German knight who had followed Conrad II. into Italy, about the year 1036; had married a Lombard lady; and had been invested with the lordship of Romano: whose descendants had acquired lands north of Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, equal to the territory of any of those republics; and had become the heads of the Ghibelin party in the March of Verona. *Eccelin the Monk*, the great-grandson of the first Eccelin, and the father of the tyrant, though in ill odour with the Church on account of his leanings to the Paulician heresy, withdrew—yet without taking the vows—into a monastery to prepare for death, A.D. 1232, after having done much to extend the possessions and influence of the family: he had also a son named *Alberic da Romano*, who established his rule over the city of Treviso, but passed over to the Guelfs. The elder son, Eccelin da Romano, bold, cunning, faithless, and moreover well aided by treacherous Ghibelins, was in a few years the absolute master of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; he subdued the neighbouring nobles, and conquered several of the lands and strongholds of the Guelf marquis of *Este*; and throughout the whole district, he lorded it as Imperial Vicar. His government was upheld by bloodshed and terror: countless victims were imprisoned, beheaded, burnt, starved, tortured, maimed, blinded; and his underlings—he himself abode at Verona—were not a whit behind him in cruelty. The day of retribution, however, came at last. When Frederic II. and his son Conrad were dead, and the Ghibelins had lost ground, a crusade was preached against the monster, at the command of Pope Alexander IV., March 1256: but though Padua was taken and sacked, Eccelin had the best of the war, until some of the Ghibelins, disgusted by his perfidy, leagued with the Guelfs to destroy him and his brother Alberic, who had secretly espoused his cause. Three months afterwards, Sept. 1259, Eccelin, beset by his foes under the Marquis of Este (Azzo VII.), was overpowered when trying to force the passage of the Adda near Cassano; and being led away a prisoner, he tore open the wounds which the surgeons would have dressed, and died in a few days. The end of Alberic was still more horrible. Driven from Treviso, he held out against his enemies in the keep of a strong castle, until hun-

after-life of Frederic was full of trouble². When he had breathed his last, Dec. 1250¹; CONRAD, his son, had a war to wage for the crown of Sicily with the Pope's faction. Being detained in Germany, the new king could not have kept his own, but for the ability and courage of his half-brother, the bastard Manfred², then a youth of eighteen; who, as regent of the kingdom, at once made head against the rebels, and recovered most of the towns which had fallen away. After Conrad had landed at Siponto with an army of Germans and Lombards, in the year 1252; these successes were followed up by the defeat of the counts of Aquino and the submission of Capua: Naples, which had also put itself under the protection of the Pope, held out for many months; but was forced by hunger to open its gates, when the mouth of the harbour was blocked up by the Sicilian fleet, Oct. 1253. The walls of the vanquished city were razed to the ground, and crowds of victims were sent to perish on the scaffold.

There only remained the Pope to deal with; but, though baffled, he would not yield an inch. He was looking out

ger forced him to yield himself up to their rage. He was tied to the tail of a wild horse, and dragged to death through the streets of Treviso; his six sons were pitilessly butchered; and his wife and her two daughters were burned alive. Thus perished every remnant of a hated race, A.D. 1260.

⁹ For the history of these troubles, the reader is referred to the accounts of the reigns of Popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., and of Frederic II. as emperor.

¹ Frederic who was fond of learning and had founded a university at Naples, his favourite city, gave a code of laws to the kingdom of Sicily, based on the Norman constitutions, which his chancellor Peter de Vineis had collected and arranged. All peculiar jurisdictions were abolished by it.

² Son of Frederic by the Marchioness *Lanzia*, and by his father's will made capable of inheriting the crown, should his legitimate brothers die childless.

for some prince who would undertake to conquer the two Sicilies, and had fixed upon Edmund Crouchback, the king of England's son³; when he heard of the death of Conrad at the age of twenty-six, May 1254⁴.

A. D. 1254. Conrad II. (Conradin). Innocent IV. invades Naples ; Manfred repels the papal troops.

1255. Crusade against Manfred.

1258. Manfred usurps the crown of Sicily.

1265. Charles of Anjou receives investiture of Sicily from the Pope.

1266. *Battle of Benevento* : death of Manfred.

1268. *Battle of Tagliacozzo* ; fall of Conradin.

CONRAD II., or CONRADIN, a helpless child who had hardly reached his third year when his father died, had at first for his guardian his mother's kinsman, *Berthold*, marquis of *Hohemburg*⁵. This person gave up his charge to Manfred in despair ; for the kingdom was in a state of confusion : the people, sullen under the rule of Germans and Saracens⁶, had been worked upon by the Pope's emissaries, and had broken out in rebellion ; and the Pope himself, to whose pity a most earnest appeal had been made in vain, was threatening the frontier with a powerful army. Nor was Manfred able to do any thing. Utterly at a loss, he yielded up the fortresses, and hastening to the border, humbly went to meet the Pope ; and even held the bridle of his horse as he crossed the Garrigliano.

Manfred found the insolence of the exiles who had returned in the train of the invaders, hard to bear ; and

³ See also p. 365, note 4, in the account of Innocent IV.'s pontificate.

⁴ By the Guelf faction, Manfred (who was also said to have poisoned Frederic II., his own father) was accused of having poisoned him. Conrad was jealous of Manfred's superior ability, and had deprived him of some of his fiefs.

⁵ By the historian Schmidt, he is called the marquis *Hochberg*.

⁶ The justiciaries of the provinces, and almost all the civil and military functionaries were Saracens.

moreover to his ungrateful enemy *Borello d'Anglone* was granted the investiture of part of his domains at Tarento. It so chanced that the two rivals fell in with each other on the road from Teano to Capua, and that a fight took place between their armed followers in which Borello was slain; Manfred was therefore brought into great danger, as he was accused of the murder, and cited to stand his trial before the Pope's nephew with very little hope of fair play⁷. Shunned as a marked man, and treated as an outlaw, he suddenly fled by night across the mountains to Luceria, which he reached after many hazards, Nov. 1254: there he was enthusiastically welcomed by his faithful Saracens, who broke down the gates to let him in, and forced their commandant to do him homage. Master of the town and of the treasure kept in it, the German soldiers lately driven out of the garrisons also rallying round him, the fugitive was able to take the field. The army of Berthold, who had turned against him, was beaten; the troops of the Pope's legate, at Troja, retreated in disorderly flight; and in less than two years, all that had been conquered by the aged Innocent IV., who had died (Dec. 1254) when fortune began to change, was gloriously recovered. In vain was a crusade preached by Alexander IV.; in vain was the money of England squandered in that Pope's attempts to get the kingdom of Sicily for Edmund Crouchback; Manfred not only stood his ground, but at length—a false report being spread of the death of Conradin in Germany⁸,—he was called upon by the prelates and nobles to mount the throne, and was crowned at Palermo, Aug. 1258.

⁷ Even a safe conduct was refused him by the Pope.

⁸ Manfred is believed to have got up the report. When Constance sent to remonstrate, he refused to descend from the throne of a kingdom which he had reconquered, but still proposed to make her son Conradin his heir.

MANFRED's rule was mild, but firm and active. The drooping spirit of the Ghibelins revived throughout Italy. In Milan, in Verona, and in the march of Treviso, they gained the upper hand ; and in Tuscany, the aid which he sent to Sienna and the victory won by treachery on the Arbia, Sept. 1260, turned the scale in their favour, and the Guelfs had to abandon Florence.

This gleam of sunshine was again clouded when Urban IV. became Pope, Dec. 1261. The crusade was renewed against Manfred, whose Saracens had been harassing the neighbourhood of Rome, and he was cited to appear as a criminal before the papal court ; *James I.* of Arragon was warned, but to little purpose, not to marry his son to the daughter of the enemy and persecutor of the Church ; and after some delay, Charles count of Anjou, the brother of St. Lewis, was empowered to undertake a holy war for the crown of Sicily (A.D. 1263)⁹. The new king pledged himself to put the Pope in possession of Benevento and its territory ; to pay yearly to him and to his successors eight thousand ounces of gold, together with a white palfrey ; and, moreover, never to accept either the Empire, or the kingdoms of Germany, Lombardy, or Tuscany¹. At the tidings of this treaty, the hopes of the Guelfs were raised, and the Ghibelins lost their hold upon Milan, Modena, and Parma. And when the crusade was preached in France,

⁹ The Pope, for some months, had haggled with Charles for the cession of Naples and the Terra di Lavoro with the adjacent islands. Charles was greatly urged by his wife Beatrice, the heiress of Provence ; whose three elder sisters, *Margaret*, *Eleanor*, and *Sanctia*,—the wives of Lewis IX. of France, Henry III. of England, and Richard, king of the Romans,—haughtily made her sit on a lowly stool in their presence. Eager to be a queen, she pawned her jewels to hire soldiers.

¹ These terms were to be binding on his heirs. Should his line fail in both sexes, the kingdom was to revert to the Pope.

A.D. 1264, thirty thousand warriors gathered round the banners of the Pope's champion.

Urban IV., however, did not live to see the coming of the French prince and his crusaders into Italy. It was Clement IV., the next Pope, who caused investiture to be given to Charles of Anjou, June 1265 ; when the latter had reached Rome by sea ², the Pisan and Sicilian fleet which guarded the mouth of the Tiber, having been driven from the coast by a lucky storm. At the end of this year, Charles was joined by his wife *Beatrice of Provence*, and by his main army under *Robert of Flanders* ³, which had marched down without meeting with any resistance ; and on the Feast of Epiphany (Jan. 1266), he and *Beatrice* were crowned at St. Peter's. As he had no money to pay his troops, he did not wait for the breaking up of winter ; but pushed on at once into the enemy's country, by the road of Ferentino, forcing his way with ease through every pass and taking the strongest fortresses, until he halted on the plain of Grandella, near Benevento, Feb. 1266, within sight of Manfred and his host. Alarmed at the cowardice which had been displayed by his subjects ⁴, Manfred sought to gain time by negotiating. "Go back to your master, the *Sultan of Nocera* ⁵," answered the insolent Frenchman to his envoys ; "go back and tell him that to-day I shall

² May 1265. He was warmly welcomed by the citizens ; who had chosen him as their senator, a dignity which for some years had been at the disposal of Manfred. He offended the Pope, then at Perugia, by taking up his abode in the Lateran ; but had the prudence, when blamed, to retrieve the false step.

³ *Robert de Béthune*, afterwards count of Flanders on the death of his grandfather. His first wife was the daughter of Charles of Anjou.

⁴ No country would seem more defensible than the kingdom of Naples, with its mountains, forests, and rivers ; but, says Sismondi, its fate has almost always been decided by a single battle. Its inhabitants never cared to die for their fatherland.

⁵ Taunting him as the excommunicated chief of *Saracens*.

send him to hell, or he will send me to paradise!" Thus defied, Manfred crossed over the river Calore and boldly met his doom : his Saracens and Germans fought like men ; but the Apulian barons, when they should have come to their help with a decisive charge, turned, fled, and lost the day. His corpse was found among the slain ⁶.

For more than a week after this ever-memorable victory, the French glutted themselves with blood and pillage at Benevento. Manfred's widow, queen *Sybilla*, and her children⁷ were overtaken when trying to escape into Greece, and shut up in a castle ; his most faithful friends were carried away into Provence, to be cruelly put to death in foreign prisons. The conquered people were speedily taught the folly of welcoming the stranger and yielding without resistance. Although Charles' court at Naples was splendid, and he sought at first to please the nobles by his affable demeanour, deep was the hatred which he aroused by his grinding tyranny : for he confiscated fiefs right and left to reward his knights ; he again laid on the oppressive taxes which Manfred had taken off ; and he created a number of offices to provide for ignorant and ruffian soldiers, who greedily swallowed up all the patronage of the state. Even Guelfs now mourned for the prince whom they had betrayed ; even the Pope himself wrote to their new king in a strain of indignant rebuke.

The battle of Benevento brought on the downfall of the Ghibelins. In Tuscany, all the fruits of the fight on the

⁶ It was carried on an ass to Charles of Anjou ; who denied it Christian burial. His soldiers, with better feeling, piled a heap of stones on the grave of the dead hero : but that bitter Guelf, the archbishop of *Cosenza*, got the Pope to order the body to be dug up and cast forth to rot in the open air.

⁷ Manfred's first wife was *Beatrice of Savoy*, the mother of *Constance*. By *Sybilla Comnena*, whose father was despot of Epirus, he had *Frederic*, called *Manfredin*, and a daughter named *Beatrice*.

Arbia were lost, and the Guelfs became masters of Florence. Charles was joyfully received in the "fair" city, Aug. 1267⁸; and with its troops, in the following year, he and his warriors marched forth to humble the Pisans. But another contest awaited him. Envoys from Pisa and Sienna had been dispatched with a subsidy of 100,000 golden florins into Bavaria, where Conradin was residing at the court of the duke his uncle⁹, to invite the last heir of the Swabian line into Italy as their champion; the Lombard and Sicilian malcontents likewise engaging to risk their lives and fortunes in his cause. Conradin—a fine, bold youth of sixteen, who chafed at the inaction in which his mother had wisely kept him¹—had eagerly listened to the hopes which they held out, and had at once begun to raise a small army with which he had arrived at Verona; from whence, after a stay of some weeks, he went on to Pavia, where he again halted, Feb. 1268. The exiled princes of Castille, *Henry* the energetic senator of Rome², and *Fre-*

⁸ The Pope had created him imperial vicar in Tuscany, and the Florentines chose him as their lord for ten years.

⁹ Lewis II., the Severe. He and his sister Elizabeth, Conradin's mother, were the children of Otho II., the Illustrious, count Palatine and duke of Bavaria, by Agnes, the daughter and heiress of Henry of Saxony, count Palatine; who was the son of Henry the Lion, and had a daughter *Hermengarda*, married to *Herman V.*, marquis of *Baden*.

¹ Elizabeth of Bavaria (now married to *Mainard* count of *Tyrol*), who had formerly had the spirit to refuse to let her son be put forward by the Guelfs in opposition to Manfred, thought Conradin too young to attack a veteran warrior and politician, on whose side the Pope and the Church were sure to be arrayed.

² Frederic and Henry of Castille had headed a revolt of the nobles against their brother Alfonso X.; but had been defeated, and driven to seek refuge in Tunis. Weary of his life among the Mahometans, Henry had returned to Italy, about the time of the battle of Benevento: he was recommended to the Pope by Charles of Anjou, his kinsman, for the crown of Sardinia; and he so won upon the Roman

deric, who was then in the service of the king of Tunis, became his allies ; and while the latter, with *Conrad Capece*, an old adherent of Manfred's, passed over from Africa into Sicily at the head of a band of outlawed knights, the Saracens of Luceria took up arms against their French oppressors. At the tidings that most of Sicily was already lost, and that the rebellion had spread to Aversa and many other places on the mainland ; Charles of Anjou hastened home from Tuscany, and laid siege to Luceria.

In the meanwhile, Conradin, who on Easter-day had been excommunicated at Viterbo by the Pope, and deprived of the empty title of king of Jerusalem, entered Pisa in the month of May, and was welcomed with enthusiastic loyalty : thirty galleys were armed and put to sea in his cause, which shortly afterwards captured and burnt a great part of the Sicilian fleet off Messina. At Sienna, and at Rome, the highest honours were likewise paid him. From Rome, he set out with an army increased to five thousand men, and crossed the enemy's frontier : having quickly gone through the passes of the Abruzzi, he advanced to the plain of Tagliacozzo, where Charles of Anjou, who had raised the siege of Luceria, was awaiting him, Aug. 1268. In the battle which was then fought, Charles, though outnumbered,—he had not more than three thousand men-at-arms,—and though his main body was broken and dispersed, won the victory by a daring stratagem suggested to him by *Alard de St. Valery*, an old French knight who had been twenty years in the Holy Land. With several hundreds

citizens that they chose him Senator. Charles got jealous of him, and wanted Sardinia to be given to himself. Hence the quarrel between them.—Henry of Castille was related both to Charles and Conradin. His father St. Ferdinand III. of Leon—the son of Berengaria, heiress of Castille, Charles of Anjou's aunt—had married *Beatrice*, the daughter of the Emperor Philip of Swabia and cousin of Frederic II.

of his best men, he lurked in ambush until his foes, flushed with success and believing that he had fallen³, scattered in search of plunder: then, sounding a charge, he dashed in among them and put them to flight. Conradin and his cousin *Frederic of Baden*, the titular duke of *Austria*⁴, fled disguised as peasants to the sea-coast, and embarked in a boat for Pisa, hoping to get to Sicily; but they were pursued and overtaken⁵. Henry of Castille was given up by the abbot of *Monte-Cassino*, to whom he had gone for shelter.

The unfeeling conqueror called together an assembly of barons, doctors of law, and magistrates of towns in the Guelph districts, that his captives might be murdered with some of the forms of justice. Only one judge voted for death: yet the victims were brought to the scaffold, the life of Henry of Castille alone being spared. Conradin, with Frederic of Austria and other noble prisoners, being led forth into the market-place of Naples, Oct. 1268, the iniquitous sentence was read by the prothonotary *Robert of Bari*: who had hardly done, when he was run through by the sword of the indignant Robert of Flanders, Charles's own son-in-law. The tyrant, who was present with his whole court, said nothing, but did not the less fulfil his bloody purpose. Poor Conradin, before he was beheaded, threw his glove, as a gage of defiance, among the crowd: it was taken up and carried to *Peter of Arragon*, the husband of his cousin Constance.

³ *Henry of Caccas*, who wore his royal ornaments, had been killed.

⁴ Frederic, margrave of Baden, had been deprived of Austria (of which his father had married the heiress) by Ottocar of Bohemia. His grandmother Hermengarda was the sister of Agnes of Saxony, Conradin's maternal grandmother. See p. 408, note 9.

⁵ By one of the Roman Frangipani, *John*, lord of *Astura* (a castle on the coast). A valuable ring pawned by Conradin had excited his suspicions. He had some thoughts of letting his captives ransom themselves, when he was besieged by Charles's admiral and made to give them up.

The rebellion in Sicily was quenched in blood. Heads in plenty were cut off; *Conrad*, the son of *Frederic* of *Antioch* (a bastard of *Frederic* II.), and *Conrad* Capece were hanged, after their eyes had been torn out; and when the ruthless *William the Standard* had reduced the town of *Augusta*, not a living soul found mercy, not even the traitors who had let him in. In Italy, also, punishments of death, forfeiture, and mutilation, were dealt forth by wholesale⁶.

⁶ In Rome, Charles at first cut off the legs of his chief enemies. Having gone thus far, he thought it as well to shut those wretches up in a wooden building, and to set it on fire.—He was more merciful to the remnant of the Saracens of *Luceria*, when he had starved them into surrender: he destroyed the city and scattered the inhabitants.

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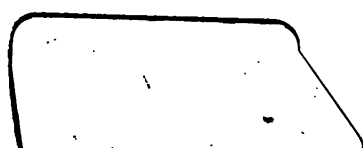
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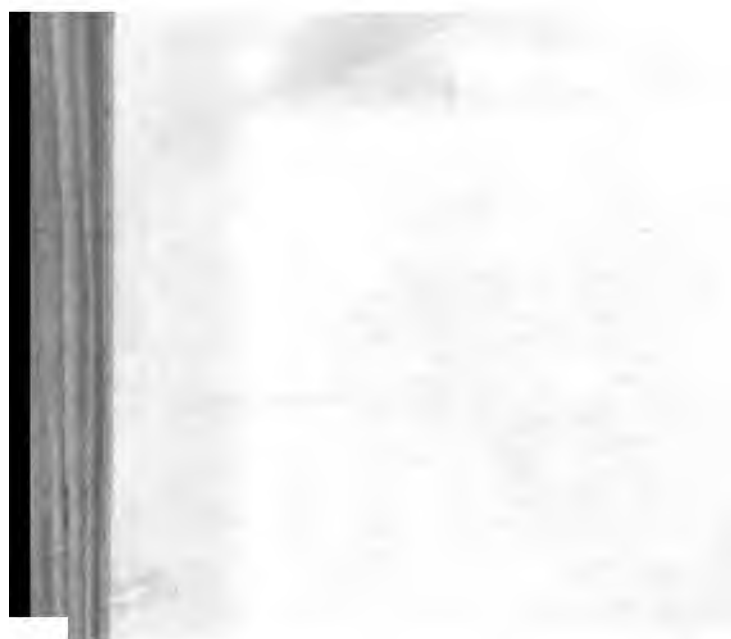
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